

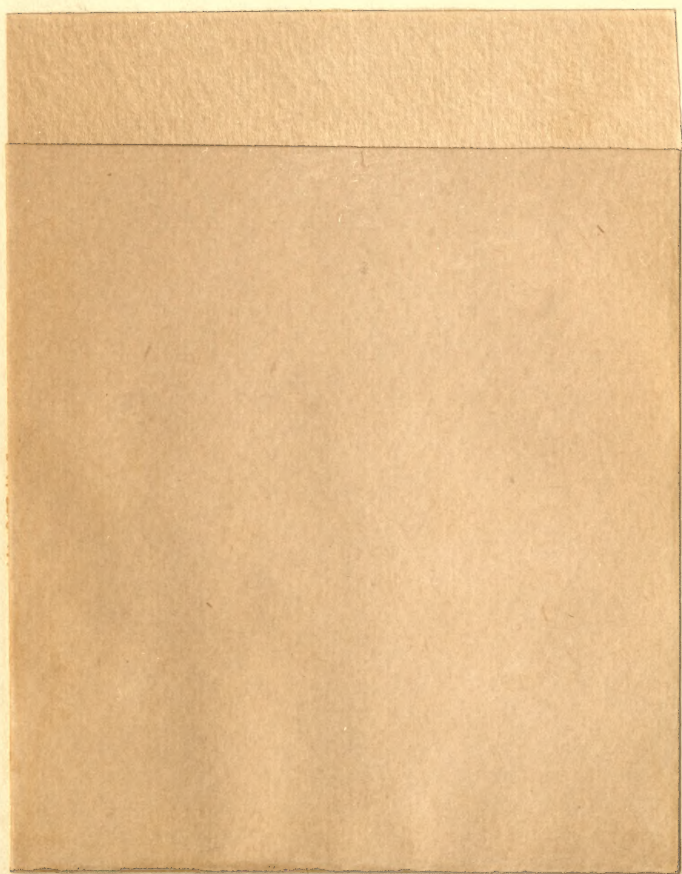
UNIVERSITY OF ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE



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THE VENERABLE  
JOHN OGILVIE, S.J.

BY  
DANIEL CONWAY









THE VENERABLE JOHN OGILVIE, S.J.

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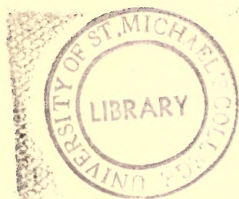
J. CANONICUS RITCHIE, V.G.,  
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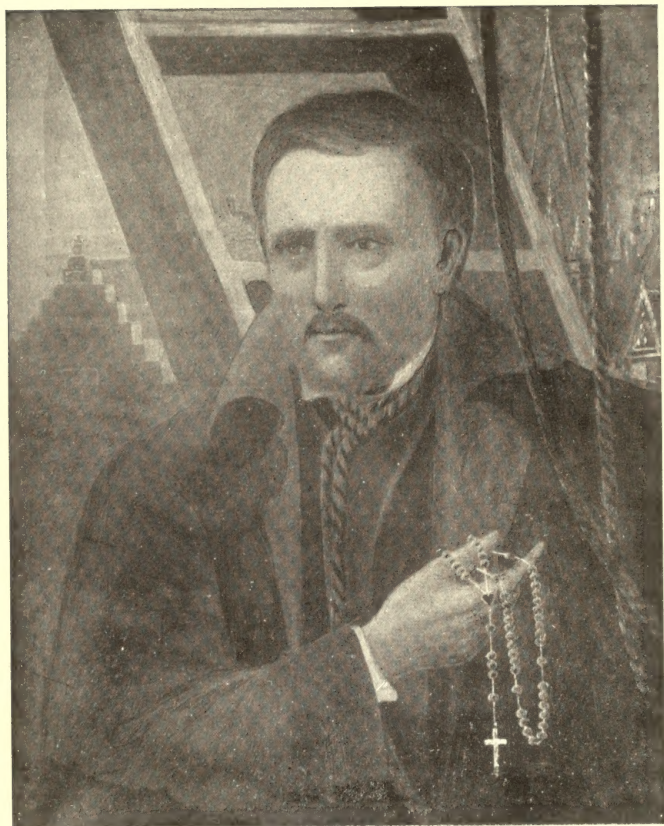
✠ JOANNES ALOYSIUS,  
*Archiepiscopus Glascuensis.*

*Imprimi Potest*

JOSEPH BROWNE, S.J.,  
*Praep. Prov. Angliae, S.J.*







THE VENERABLE JOHN OGILVIE, S.J.

*(From an old painting at St Joseph's, N. Woodside Road, Glasgow)*



# THE VENERABLE JOHN OGILVIE, S.J.

A SKETCH OF HIS LIFE

BY  
DANIEL CONWAY

EDITED BY  
ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, S.J.



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I HAVE been asked to write a few words of recommendation for the new issue of the interesting papers written by the late Rev. Daniel Conway of St. John's, Port Glasgow, on the Venerable Father Ogilvie, S.J., now edited by Father Archibald Campbell, S.J.

I have much pleasure in complying with this request. I think that the reissue of these papers at this time of national stress and danger is particularly opportune. They show us the example of a loyal soldier of Christ, who knew how to die when duty called.

JOHN ALOYSIUS,  
*Archbishop of Glasgow.*

11th January, 1915.



## A.M.D.G.

### FOREWORD

SOMEONE has said that "to reprint an old book is often a more real service to the public than to bring out a new one." Confiding in this principle, we publish the following pages written by the late Rev. Daniel Conway, of St. John's, Port Glasgow, and published in the "Month" in its issues of January, February, and March, 1878. We are convinced that nothing could better perpetuate the memory of the Venerable Servant of God (in whose case Father Conway was deeply interested) and bring the knowledge of his life and death within the reach of everyone, than this brochure. Father Conway was always anxious that devotion to the Venerable Father John Ogilvie, S.J., should increase day by day until the Holy See should see fit to bring about his beatification.

We are on the eve of the tercentenary of his martyrdom; hence the appropriateness of the publication. The Venerable Father was executed in the High Street of Glasgow for his defence of the supremacy of the Holy See, on the 10th of March, 1615. The cause of his beatification is not being neglected, for we are assured by the promoter of the cause of the English martyrs that the case of Father Ogilvie is included in the next group



of English martyrs to be beatified. When that day arrives, what a great honour it will be for the *filia specialis Romanæ Ecclesiæ*—the special daughter of the Holy See—the See of Glasgow—to have the great servant of God raised to the honour of our altars! It has sometimes been questioned whether Father Ogilvie was a convert from Protestantism. This question seems to be definitely settled by Father Cornelius à Lapide, S.J., in his great commentary on the Scriptures, when dealing with Isaias, Chapter L, on the words “therefore have I set my face as a very hard rock, and I know that I shall not be confounded.” After describing the heroism of the martyrs, such as St. Ignatius of Antioch, St. Laurence, and St. Vincent, he goes on to say: “Such a man was our Brother Ogilvie, a martyr recently in Scotland, *formerly a convert of mine at Louvain (Catechumenus Meus), who, as is manifest from his martyrdom, amazed the Calvinists by his steadfastness under torture, and by the alertness of his replies, so that all who assailed him were completely put to silence.*”

If there be any truth in the saying, and we suppose very few would care to gainsay it, that the blood of martyrs is the seed of the Church, may we not attribute, in God’s providence, apart from other well-known natural causes, the marvellous growth of the Catholic Religion in Glasgow to the death of Father John Ogilvie. At the time of the Father’s death there were only a handful of crushed Catholics, but now in our own day Catholics count as one in five in this vast emporium of western commerce.

In conclusion, we give this little book as it left the pen of Father Conway, with its notes and references. It goes forth with the approval and blessing of our Ecclesiastical authorities, and we trust that this will increase devotion to our Venerable Brother and fellow-countryman, *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*.

ARCH. CAMPBELL, S.J.

FEAST OF THE PURIFICATION, B.V.M.

1915.



# THE VENERABLE JOHN OGILVIE, S.J.

## PART THE FIRST

THE Church in Scotland has a history, between the year that Father John Ogilvie was born and the year he won his crown (1580—1615), which has some points of contact with the history of those days when the Christians made their altars and excavated the graves for their dead in the Catacombs. Evidence in support of this statement is to be had, stored up in the folios of Protestant writers. "The proceedings," wrote Pitcairn,<sup>1</sup> "adopted against the Roman Catholics and the Jesuits at different periods, after the Reformation in Scotland, form a prominent part in the ecclesiastical and political history of the country. . . . During the reign of King James, both before and after his accession to the English throne, seldom did a year pass without some rumours of fresh attempts of the Jesuits against his life, or against the religion, as by law established in England."

Several causes contributed towards the results

<sup>1</sup> *Criminal Trials*, vol. iii. p. 350.

stated by Pitcairn, of which the following may be mentioned as having been not the least influential. First, the number and the position of the Catholics in Scotland; second, the connections which they, as well as the Protestants, had made, the latter with their co-religionists in England and abroad, the former, especially at this period, with Spain; third, the conduct of James himself, who was no insignificant factor in the persecution, for he was to the Catholics arbitrary, ungrateful, and treacherous. "The accession of James indeed raised the hopes of the Catholics in England (Scotland) itself; he had intrigued for their support before the Queen's death, and their persecution was relaxed for a while after he had mounted the throne. But it soon began again, with even greater severity than of old, and six thousand Catholics were presented as recusants in a single year."<sup>2</sup> Fourth, there is to be added to the number of causes which brought about the condition of the Church in Scotland at this time—a state of cruel persecution—the struggle between the Kirk and prelacy for supremacy. Neither the one nor the other could hope to be supreme, so long as the Church stood, as she did, supported by not a few of the nobility, and having very many adherents among the people. Indeed her chances were anything but desperate of regaining the position she had been driven from, in 1560, by an Act which disestablished and proscribed her. Both the Kirk and prelacy, each in turn and now and then conjointly, laid violent hands on the Church.

<sup>2</sup> J. R. Green, *The Hist. People of England*, p. 463. Edition 1876



They showed themselves to be her enemies, not only by framing enactments against the Catholics, but also by calling into action dormant penal statutes.

That the Church in Scotland was a power, both before and after James became King of England, stands acknowledged by the forces which were put in motion against her. Besides, records prove it. "The Present State of the Nobility of Scotland in 1583,"<sup>3</sup> gives the number of noblemen professing the Catholic religion as twelve; and "The Present State of the Nobility of Scotland in 1592," names thirteen Catholics. Add to these numbers the circumstance that Huntly, a Catholic, was the most powerful and extensive landowner in the realm; and certainly it must be admitted that so far as the nobility were concerned the Catholics were influential. Evidence is at hand which makes clear the fact that among the people the adherents of the ancient faith were so numerous as to form a body not to be contemned. Writing to Laurea, the Cardinal Protector of Scotland, Mary Stuart stated in 1586, "En ce pauvre royaume . . . je vous puis assurer qu'il reste encore un tres bon nombre de bien entires Catholiques, et mesme des principaux de la noblesse."<sup>4</sup> Tytler confirms what Mary Queen of Scots wrote: "Nor was there any reason why this large and powerful body of men should despair of success, but rather the contrary. Ample proof of this may be found in a remarkable paper in the hand of Lord Burghley, written shortly before James' arrival from Denmark, and drawn up apparently for his own guidance, which brings

<sup>3</sup> *Miscellany*, Bannatyne Club, vol. i. pp. 55, 56.

<sup>4</sup> Labanoff, vol. vi. p. 348.

forward, in clear contrast, the comparative strength of the Catholic and the Protestant parties in Scotland. From it we learn that all the northern part of the kingdom, including the counties of Inverness, Caithness, Sutherland, and Aberdeen, with Moray and the sheriffdoms of Buchan, of Angus, of Wigton, and of Nithsdale, were either wholly or for the greater part in the interest of the Roman Catholic party, commanded mostly by noblemen who secretly adhered to that faith.”<sup>5</sup>

How the numbers and the influence of the Catholics operated against them was, we believe, this : that being both numerous and influential they were, on that very account, hated. Their strength was their weakness. The sword which was once drawn against them must be either broken in defeat or hung up in victory.

And notably it was unfortunate for the Church that some leading Catholics in Scotland were connected with Spain, or indeed with any other continental power, at this period. If an anonymous work which is quoted often, namely *Historie of King James the Sext*, is to be trusted, it would appear that about 1588 and 1589 Colonel Semple and Lord Maxwell returned to Scotland from Spain. In connection with this event—at any rate about the time it happened—there was detected a secret correspondence between some leading Catholics in Scotland and abroad. If not as a consequence of such a discovery, certainly at this very time the kingdom was alarmed. “A solemn fast,” wrote Calderwood, “was keeped about the end of October, 1589, which continued three Sab-

<sup>5</sup> *History of Scotland*, vol. ix. pp. 39, 40.

bath days, wherewith was joined the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Thanks were given to God for that notable delivery from invasion, attempted by the cruel Spaniards. Notwithstanding that the Lord had manifested the year preceeding by the overthrow of the Spanish Armada, what care He had of His poor Kirk in this isle, yet did the enemies of the truth continue still in their despight and malice. Sundrie trafficking Jesuits, Seminary priests, and other emissaries of Antichrist, creeping into this country, ceased not to pervert the people in sundrie parts, namely in the north and the south, whereupon dangerous effects were like to follow. Therefore the most vigilant of the ministrie, warning and moving others, as the custom of the Kirk of Scotland was from the beginning, convened at Edinburgh in the month of January, 1589, and gave into the King and Councel the petitions following:

"That it may please his Highness to forbear, in time to come to interpose his privie letters or discharges to the Kirk, for staying of their proceedings with their censures against Papists, when so they cannot be reclaimed by lawful admonitions.

"That Commissioners may be directed to some special persons of his Highness' Councel, best affected and of greatest power, to search, seek and apprehend and persecute to justice all Jesuits and other privat or publick seducers of his Highness' lieges, and that the said Commissioners be instantly named, and a day be appointed to report their diligence in that behalf."<sup>6</sup>

The Kirk meant work. A close search was to be made all over the country for both "privat"

<sup>6</sup> *History*, p. 227.

and "publick" "seducers," all of whom were to be "persecuted to justice." At this very time a packet of letters was found on the person of Colonel Semple's man-servant, Pringle. Elizabeth sent those letters to James on February 17, 1589. They were written in cipher. One of them, it is said, was addressed to the King of Spain, and bore the signatures of Huntly, Morton, *alias* Maxwell, and Claude Hamilton. Elizabeth called on James to apprehend "trafficking Papists" suddenly. This is a significant word; there is a world of meaning in *suddenly*.

Three years afterwards, namely, in 1592, a vigilance committee (to use a modern phrase) was formed in Edinburgh. Its duty was this, to look sedulously after the interests of the Kirk. Calderwood expresses its work, shows its office in this sentence: "Providere in omnibus ne quid Ecclesia detrimenti capiat," which, turned into its equivalent—not in words, but in acts—implied the enforcing against the Catholics of all, even obsolete penal enactments. Yet more: a number of social indignities were heaped on the faithful. The historian of the Kirk lets it be known what those indignities were. "Weapon-showings were to be made, and the country to be convened upon all occasions needful for the defence of the true religion."<sup>7</sup> The reflection made by Calderwood on those "Weapon-shows," and the arming of Protestant neighbours against Catholic ones at the mere whim and fancy of zealots reveals how vexatious and exasperating such displays must have been. "The reader," he wrote, "may perceive

<sup>7</sup> Calderwood, *ad annum* 1592, p. 272.



how vigilant the ministers were, and careful to suppress and overthrow the plots and machinations of Papists seeking the overthrow of religion."

Another batch of letters was brought to light. George Kerr, a Catholic gentleman, was apprehended December 17, 1592. He had embarked for Spain at Fairlie, the modern watering-place on the Ayrshire coast, but was overtaken at the Cumbrae islands. A packet of letters, afterwards called the "Spanish Blanks," was found in his custody. This discovery, taken along with the letters found on the person of the man Pringle, served a purpose. Persecution thereby was not suffered to be remiss in its efforts to crush the Church. And here, at this stage of our narrative, it may not be inappropriate to insert a passage written by one of the latest historians, bearing directly on the documents known by the name of the "Spanish Blanks." "In the same year, 1592, occurred the incident called the 'Spanish Blanks,' which disturbed the zealous Presbyterian party to an extent not easily realized by looking at the scanty materials by which it was produced. But, in fact, it was the mystery excited by imperfect evidence that created suspicion and terror. It was suspected that a man named Kerr who was leaving Scotland by the west coast had dangerous documents in his custody. The minister of Paisley, hearing of this, gathered some sturdy parishioners, who seized and searched Kerr. They took from him eight papers called the 'Spanish Blanks.' Each had on it the concluding courtesies of a letter addressed to royalty: 'De vostre Majestie tres humble et tres obesant serviteur,' and was followed by one or more signatures.



Otherwise those slips of paper had no designation on the back, nor declaration of the causes for which they were sent, but blank and white paper on both sides, except the said subscriptions. . . . Such efforts as availed to the chemistry of the age were made to reveal any writing with sympathetic ink above the subscriptions, but with no result. . . . Several letters of alarming import were found at the same time. Those documents have come to us in a manifesto or explanatory pamphlet, 'printed and published at the special command of the King's Majesty.' King James was at that time paying his addresses without much success to the zealous Presbyterians, and in the tone of those letters there is a suspicious tendency towards the revelation of terrible dangers escaped through the vigilance of the Government."<sup>8</sup> Both the letters found on Colonel Semple's servant and the "Spanish Blanks" served the purpose of the King and the Kirk, let those documents be genuine or the reverse. They raised a very storm of unpopularity against the Catholics.

Despite their good intentions, their intercourse with Spain at that time did not serve the cause which the leaders of the Catholic party had at heart. It was, however, the fashion of the age to look abroad for support, which was not to be had at home: hence the Protestants of Scotland, even before this period, were in communication with their co-religionists in England. The consequences of such relation—on both the Catholic and Protestant sides, were adverse to the interests of the Church. They were adverse to the interests

<sup>8</sup> Hill Burton, v. 291. Edit. 1873.

of the Church in this respect, without taking into account others, that thereby the Catholic cause was mixed up with political intrigues. Now-a-days, as well as then, that cause is not a national one: its aims are not secular. The Church is not Spanish or Scottish, she belongs to the nations of the earth; hence she is Catholic in name and in mission. Her name and mission are all the same, and must be unchanged, whether Hanoverian, Stuart, or Bourbon reign or fall from their estate. She lives under all forms of government: her lot is cast in with republics, monarchies, and empires, yet all the while she is not republican, monarchical, or imperial.

The Kirk at this period, 1595, was supreme.<sup>9</sup> For three months its power was felt in every homestead in Scotland. It was empowered to "plant a wise pastor" in any house in the kingdom. Persecution had not, perhaps, ever assumed so vexatious a form as that of "planting wise pastors" in the houses of those people deemed by the Presbytery worthy of such attention. "Perhaps this arrangement does not belong to the class of acts universally admitted to amount to persecution. And yet there are tortures attributed to the Inquisition which some men would rather endure than this scheme, dooming them and their families to be ever haunted by a pragmatistical priest of a hostile Church, armed with powers of exhortation, inquisition and rebuke."<sup>10</sup>

The Kirk had its day.

Prelacy came to the front in 1606. Bent on

<sup>9</sup> Calderwood, *ad annum*.

<sup>10</sup> Hill Burton, v. 303. Edit. 1873.

securing supremacy it was as merciless as the Kirk. Not an hour, so to say, was lost in making this known. James Law, Bishop of Orkney, the very year prelacy came into power, laid before the King a petition and an "Act" from "the Constant Moderators" against the "insolent" Papists. That petition bore the signature of every member of the assembly. The King's answer was couched in these words: He would have called before the council, the Bishop of the diocese, the Moderator of the Presbytery and the minister of the parish being present and inquired concerning their (the Catholics') behaviour, and whether they did resort or not ordinarily to sermons, wherein they should be tried to have transgressed, his pleasure was that they should be confined within so many miles compass, as are distant betwixt the houses of their residence and the city, wherein it was desired that they should be confined to the end . . . to resort to the city or town designed for their instruction, where they should be tied to stay ten days together, and during their stay hear sermons, admit conferences, and forbear the company of Jesuits, seminary priests, and others of that persuasion."<sup>11</sup> The Catholics aimed at, provided for spiritually by the above royal decree, were noblemen! It is not to be supposed that the Catholics of lower degrees were neglected. They were not indeed. Two years after that decree had been issued, in 1608, James had the following proposals laid before him:

1. That his Majesty be entreated not to permit any Papist, or suspected of Popery to bear charge

<sup>11</sup> Spottiswood, 1608, p. 502.

in council, session, or in any burgh or city; and where his Majesty did know any such to occupy those places, that order be taken for their removal.

2. That the laws made against Papists should receive execution, and no favour be granted unto them by the officers of State, with a prohibition to the council to meddle in affairs ecclesiastical, or to discharge the processes led by ministers against Papists, and other contemners of Church discipline.

3. That Papists abjuring their religion in hope of preferment to offices of State, should not be admitted thereto till they had given five years' probation at least.

4. That the sons of noblemen professing Popery should be committed to the custody of their friends as are sound in religion.

5. That a commission should be granted to every Bishop in his diocese, and to such well affected noblemen, barons, and gentlemen as the commissioners of the assembly should nominate, for apprehending of Jesuits, seminary priests, excommunicated Papists, and traffiquers against religion.

6. That the searchers of ships should seize upon all books that are brought into the country, and present them to the ministers of the town where the ships shall happen to arrive.

7. That excommunicated Papists be put in close prison and none have access to them but such as are known to be of sound religion.<sup>12</sup>

In 1611 the Earl of Dunbar died. "His death," wrote Spottiswood, "made a great change in our estate."

<sup>12</sup> Spottiswood, *ad annum*, 1608.



The prospects of the Church about that period became brighter. There was then a revival of ancient customs. Eastertide and Christmas were observed. The so-called Lord's Supper was administered on Easter Sunday, and the Yule Log blazed in ancestral mansions. In the middle of the same year, three painters were employed in painting crucifixes in almost every house in Glasgow.<sup>13</sup>

Converts were received in goodly numbers and apostates were frequently reconciled to the Church.

It was about this time Father John Ogilvie came to the front.

The Ogilvies distinguished themselves by loyalty to the Bruce and the Stuarts. Gilbert, the ancestor of the "bonnie house of Airlie" was gifted by William the Lyon in 1163, with the Barony of Ogilvie in Forfarshire—hence, the name of the Clan.<sup>14</sup> The most steadfast adherent of

<sup>13</sup> Julii 8, 1612. Qulk doy compereit George Scott, painter . . . accused quhy he painted the crucifix in many houses of the . . . qlk is liklie to breid one corruptio and to turne the heartes of the ignorant to idolatrie and to mak them beleve that thair houses cannot be happie or blessed bot yr the Crucifix is: the same George confessit and promiset not to do it in tymes coming and straitlie inhibit be ye presbyterie under the paine of ye censures of the Kirk. As also the said George complainit of other two painters who were keepit secretlie in the houses of the towne who painted the same almost in everie house. The Presbyterie ordaines them to be sommondit befor the Sessions of Glasgow to be tryitt and the names of the houses to be gevin upe qr in the Crucifix is, to be taine ordour wt. Julii 29, 1612. Qlk daye the Presbyterie gives commissune to Mr. P— Sharpe, Mr. Thone Bell, Mr. Andro Boyde, Mr. Archibald Glen to go to the Provost and ballies of the towne of Glasgow to desire them to tak ordour wt. the two painters that the two painters that were secretlie keipit in ye houses of Glasgow painting Crucifixes.—Extracts from the Record of the Presbytery of Glasgow.

<sup>14</sup> Anderson, vol. iii.

Robert the Bruce, in his chequered career, was Patrick de Ogilby, a Forfarshire Knight. The ancient ballad of the Battle of Harlaw, fought in 1411 styles an Ogilby :

The gracious gude Lord Ogilvy.

and sets forth his virtues in these lines—

The best among them was  
The gracious gude Lord Ogilvy,  
The sheriff-principal of Angus,  
Renownit for truth and equity,  
For faith and magnanimity,  
He had few fellows in the field.  
Yet, fell by fatal destiny,  
For he wad nae grant to yeild.

Not only in the ages of chivalry, but down into the Reformation times the name of Ogilvie<sup>15</sup> is met with in public records—is linked with noble deeds. The Brechin register<sup>16</sup> shows that Alexander (Protestant) Bishop of Brechin confirmed the grant made by Alexander Ogilvie, Easter Drum, to his eldest son by his wife, Agnes Edmonstone, in 1591. And in the same year, 1591, George Ogilvie, son of Alexander Drummis, was acknowledged a relative of James, Lord Ogilvie.<sup>17</sup> William Ogilvie had the honour of being singled out, in 1593, “as a traffiquing Papist, an unnatural and rebellious subject,” along with Huntly, Angus, Errol, and others.<sup>18</sup> Alexander Ogilvie, a young Knight of great promise, was with the gallant

<sup>15</sup> There are three forms of the name: Ogilby, Ogilvy, Ogilvie.

<sup>16</sup> *Registerium Brechinense*, vol. ii.

<sup>17</sup> Pitcairn ii. *Criminal Trials*.

<sup>18</sup> Calderwood, *True History*, ad annum.



Montrose at Philiphaugh.<sup>19</sup> He was taken prisoner on the field and executed in Glasgow in 1646. O'Callaghan<sup>20</sup> mentions Captain Ogilvie, who fought with the Stuart at the Boyne. He was the author of the Jacobite song—

It was a' for our rightful King  
We left fair Scotland's strand.

It is said he was one of the hundred gentlemen who followed James II. into exile. He died, it is supposed, in battle on the banks of the Rhine.<sup>21</sup> Thomas Ogilvie's daughter, in 1691, received the veil in the English Convent, near the Scots' College, Paris. She was twice Abbess, and was called in religion Sister Mary Genevieve. The Queen of Great Britain took part in the service the day she was professed.<sup>22</sup>

From this Clan, renowned in arms and in song, Father John Ogilvie, the martyr was descended.

He was born in the north of Scotland<sup>23</sup> about the year 1580. 1580 is, presumably, the year he was born; for in 1614 he declared, in Glasgow, that he had been out of Scotland twenty-two years, and at his death—March 10, 1615—he was about thirty-four years old.

The chronology of his life, with one or two circumstances thereof is given here. We by no means vouch for its accuracy; but in some particulars it is confirmed by Father John Ogilvie's own declaration: and thus, on that account, it is more or less reliable.

<sup>19</sup> Anderson iii., 1874.

<sup>20</sup> Green Book, New York.

<sup>21</sup> Anderson, iii., 1874.

<sup>22</sup> Gallery, F. P. Glasgow.

<sup>23</sup> *Relatio Incarcerationis*, &c., Douay 1615.

|                           |   |       |
|---------------------------|---|-------|
| Father John Ogilvie, born | . | 1580. |
| . . . abroad              | . | 1592. |
| . . . at Louvain          | . | 1596. |
| . . . a novice            | . | 1597. |
| . . . at Ratisbon         | . | 1598. |
| . . . Moravia             | . | 1600. |
| . . . at Olmutz           | . | 1605. |
| . . . at Gratz            | . | 1607. |
| . . . at Rouen            | . | 1612. |
| . . . at Paris            | . | 1613. |

Father John Crichton, Rector of Louvain, was obliged to reduce the number of students under his care for want of funds: hence, it is stated that young Ogilvie was sent to Ratisbon in 1598. It was at Gratz that he studied theology; and in 1613 he was ordained priest at Paris. The martyr's own "Deposition" fits in with some of these particulars; it runs thus:

"The Priest being enquiryt quhat hes name wes, he nameit him self Johnne Ogilbie, sone to Walter Ogilbie of Drum: and that he hes bein out of his countraye thir twentye-twa yeirs: and that he studiet in ye colledgis of Olmis and Graitis: and remanit in Olmis twa yeirs, and in Graitis fyve yeirs: and he hes ressaut ye ordor of Priesthud in Paris." <sup>24</sup>

After an absence of twenty years and more, Father Ogilvie returned to Scotland, Martinmas 1613, accompanied by two priests, namely, Father James Moffet, S.J. and Friar John Campbell, Capuchin. The three missionaries travelled under assumed names, Father Ogilvie's being Watson,

<sup>24</sup> Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, vol. iii. p. 353.

Father Moffet's Halyburton, and Friar Campbell's Sinclair. The Government had spies scattered over the Continent, whose business it was to pick up in Rome, Valladolid, and other places, information about the priests and seminarists destined for the home missions. The information thus obtained was forwarded to the searchers of ships hailing from foreign parts; and in consequence priests were, now and then, apprehended in the act of landing. It was not optional; it was necessary, under such circumstances, that the missionaries should, in some way, disguise themselves. The disguise assumed by Father Ogilvie in coming into the country, so far as the name went, was not an impenetrable one, for he was Watson—a Scottish surname which means the son of Walter, and Walter was the martyr's father's Christian name. The missionaries separated on their arrival in their native land. Father Ogilvie went to the north;<sup>25</sup> Friar Campbell to Edinburgh; and Father Moffet moved about the Western Lowlands, and after some months betook himself to the Eastern Counties. Just about one year after his landing in Scotland he was apprehended in St. Andrews, on the charge of being a Mass priest, by Mr. Alexander Glaidstones, the son of the Archbishop of that city. On December 10, 1614, he appeared before the Lords of Secret Council and was shut up a close prisoner in Edinburgh Castle.<sup>26</sup> Father Ogilvie spent six weeks in the North.<sup>27</sup> A little before Easter Sunday which that year fell on March 30, he was

<sup>25</sup> *Relatio Incarcerationis*, &c. Douay, 1615.

<sup>26</sup> Calderwood, vol. vii. Woodrow Edit.

<sup>27</sup> Pitcairn, iii. "Sex onkis or thairty." Jesuits' Depositions.

in England on his way to London. He was two months at Court; and it would appear he had in hand some important business, the nature of which is not known, but probably it is in the keeping of the State Paper Office. On his own authority we are led to believe he had done the King a service, and perhaps his residence at Court was in connection with that transaction. Anyhow James made him no return; and this is not to be wondered at, for he was not a grateful man.

Many Scotsmen followed the Stuart into England. They crossed the Borders, not as of old, with fire and sword, but peacefully, in quest of fortune and distinction. They stood, of course, on the sunny side of the throne; yet James, now and then, turned against the Northerners, and issued an order that they were to be turned back when found either by land or sea on their way to England. Among the Scotsmen at Court there was one with whom Father Ogilvie had much intercourse, he was Sir James Kneilland of Monkland, an estate near Glasgow. Monkland was one of the very few spots in the Western Lowlands where, even so recently as Bishop Hays' days, some of the faithful could trace up their relationship with the Catholics of the pre-Reformation era. Father Ogilvie and Sir James Kneilland travelled together on their homeward journey.

It was in August, 1614, it is said, Father Ogilvie ventured into Glasgow. Such a step was indeed a venture fraught with peril; for Spottiswood was then the so-called Archbishop of that city—and in saying this, much is said. Although John Spottiswood had eminent abilities—shown by

his History and other writings—yet withal he was one of the fiercest bigots in the kingdom. He was, besides, a sycophant and a debauchee. Indeed, the prelates of the Reformed Church of Scotland at that period did no credit to their lawn; for excepting one or so of them, and they were thirteen in number, their characters could not bear scrutiny. The satirists of the day held them up to public reprobation; and as an instance of this statement we insert here some verses which were scattered about the public places of Edinburgh.

Vina amat Andreas, cum vino Glasgua amores  
 Ros cætus, ludos Galva, Brichæus opes:  
 Aulam Orcas, ollum Moravus, parat Insula fraudes  
 Dumblanus tricas, nomen Aberdonius,  
 Fata Caledonius fraterni ruminat agri,  
 Rarus avis parochos, O Catanee, tuos.  
 Solus in Argadiis præsul meritissimus ovis,  
 Vera ministerii symbola solus habes.<sup>28</sup>

Spottiswood held supreme sway in Glasgow both as prelate and magistrate. He held his own court and had his own officials; and what is more, he divided with the Crown jurisdiction in temporals, his share and that of the King's in such concerns being respectively designated the Royalty and the Regality of the city. The prospect which opened at that time of a change for the better in the fortunes of the ancient faith would not, it is reasonable to suppose, render the Archiepiscopal magistrate less hostile towards the Catholics; on the contrary, he would, on that account, be the more urgent in working the agencies at his command against the progress of the Church. And this is not altogether

<sup>28</sup> Calderwood, vol. vii.



a surmise. He had the reputation of being most anxious to rise in the royal favour, and what speedier means could he use than by approving himself an earnest promoter of Prelacy? It was, we repeat, a perilous adventure Father Ogilvie embarked in when he passed into the City of Glasgow—in doing so, it may be said of him, that he carried his life in his hand.

It would have been foolhardy if he had not worn a disguise in Glasgow, and indeed everywhere that he had to appear. The clerical dress was out of the question. The dress Father Ogilvie wore, at any rate on two occasions, was a soldier's, one not out of keeping with a son of Ignatius Loyola. This circumstance came out in the trial of Sir James Kneilland, who stood charged with having received and given hospitality to Father Ogilvie. "Sir James Kneilland being accused of having received and entertained John Ogilvie, priest, in his house, said he did not know him to be a Jesuit, but he said to him that he was a sojer (soldier), . . . and that he came to him like a sojer, with Capt. Donaldson and ane number of sojers."<sup>29</sup>

We know from his own pen an interesting particular of his life in Glasgow. It is not much in itself, but as we cannot have too much information about the heroic servants of God, and on the saying that "a little chink lets in much light," such seemingly small matters as the one we give will help in some way to disclose the character of the martyr. "Before I was captured I used to say my breviary at night in the heretics' houses when I was obliged to stay the night. A certain person

<sup>29</sup> *Illustrative Notes.* Bannatyne Club, 171.



who had noticed me whispering in a low tone and lighting a wax candle, gives out that I was a magician.”<sup>30</sup>

August and October—only a quarter of a year, mark off the limits of Father Ogilvie’s missionary career in and about the city where he died a martyr’s death. He came and went during those months, on mission duties, between Edinburgh and Glasgow. In Edinburgh it is known that he said Mass several times. He lodged in Robert Cruikshank’s inn: and said Mass in Robert Wilkie’s house in the Cannongate. His labours were markedly successful in Glasgow—more so there than anywhere else. Here he found “a kinder receipt” than he had looked for; for there he received “sundrie young men” and many persons “of the better sorte.”<sup>31</sup> How true this statement is, is well borne out by names of the persons who were, beyond question, among his flock. The records of the proceedings which were taken against him, and in some cases against those persons for having entertained him and assisted at his Masses, give their names. Those documents show the following to have been in communication with him as a priest: Earl of Eglinton, Lady Maxwell, Sir James Kneiland of Monkland, David Maxwell, brother of Newark, William Maxwell of Cowglen, John Wallace of Corsflat, Mr. John Mayne,<sup>32</sup> some members of the Forret family,

<sup>30</sup> *Imprisonment*, p. 15.

<sup>31</sup> Calderwood.

<sup>32</sup> Mr. John Mayne, a very trusted friend to whom Father Ogilvie gave letters and MSS. which were published at Douay, July, 1615, and translated by Father Chas. J. Karlake, S.J.

Marion Walker<sup>33</sup> and servant, Robert Heygate,<sup>34</sup> merchant, Andrew Symmer, James Stewart, William Monteith, Matthew Adam, William Sinclair, advocate, and Robert Ury, writer, Paisley.<sup>35</sup>

Treachery was at work. On Tuesday the 14th of October (4th O.S.), a little after four o'clock in the afternoon, Father Ogilvie was seized by one of the Archbishop's men in the place of public resort.<sup>36</sup>

Who was the traitor? That there was one is certain: the martyr's own description of his apprehension makes it evident. He wrote, that on a sign being given by the traitor, he was seized. And it would appear from the Archbishop's letter addressed to the King that a reward had been promised to the man who should make a prisoner of the Jesuit.

Who was that man? Suspicion rests on one of the Forrets.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>33</sup> This lady, ten years previous to Father Ogilvie's arrival in Glasgow, was summoned before the Presbytery charged with having a crucifix painted on a board in her house (*Miscellany, Maitland Club*). It was in her house Father Ogilvie said Mass (Pitcairn iii. Depositions of Jesuit and Papists).

<sup>34</sup> Robert Heygate, merchant, a zealous Catholic. He used to serve Father Ogilvie's Mass.

<sup>35</sup> Paisley, after the Reformation, was called "a nest of Papists." A note in Hill Burton's *The History of Scotland*, states that the faithful of that town made their confessions "in graveyards, lime-kilns, and middensteads!"

<sup>36</sup> "Circa horam quartam pomeridianam cum Prætoris primogenito in Foro ambulo: accurrit interim Archiepiscopi famulus signo a proditore dato, vir familia nobilis, et viribus fortis, qui me jubet ad Milordum ire" (*Relatio Incarcerationis*, p. 7).

<sup>37</sup> James Forret, on his examination, craved God's forgiveness for having abjured Protestantism, and Thomas Forret declared that the sight of the Mass made him despise the Catholic religion (Pitcairn, iii. Depositions of Papists and Jesuits). The motive of the traitor, whoever he was, was like himself a base one: all traitors are base.

Not any description of what befell the martyr immediately after his seizure can excel his own one. "At a sign," he wrote, "given by my betrayer,"<sup>38</sup> there runs up to me a servant of the Archbishop,

The motive in this instance *was* a mean one—it was the poet's *cursed hunger of gold*. This comes out in the following letter, the words of which are modernized—"Mr. John Murray, of Lochmaben, of his Majesty's Bed Chamber. From the Privy Council. . . . Right Assured Friend,—In the letter we have sent to his Majesty we referred two particulars to be made for apprehending some Jesuits and massing priests, and presenting them to the Council. The offer was made of four, but now one of them is dead. — took sick in the Laird of Gicht's house, and was carried forth to one of his tenants and buried secretly. The rest live in the country, and were never more busy than at this present. The gentleman is ready to undertake their apprehension, upon security of reward. But without this, will not hazard for any promise (that) can be given him. The Archbishop of Glasgow told us from his Majesty that the man should be surely rewarded, according as his service would be found worthy. But to indent for every man upon one particular sum beforehand could not be expedient, and might turn to the prejudice of him that served, seeing he might fall upon one that is worth ten thousand pounds, yet this moves him not. We have asked, we mean such of us as he travels with in this affair, what the men are, alleging they might be so vile bodies as it might fall his Majesty would not count them worth. His answer is that they are men of all good account as any of that sort, and says that when he has apprehended them he will furnish probation of their receipt (resset) and entertainment in noblemen and gentlemen's houses, who by the law will be punishable, and will be glad to (compone) compromise for their remission to a far greater sum than he craves for, which—that so good an occasion be not lost, whereof we do not understand what may be the event, and that his Majesty be not put to greater charges than is needful—we have thought that it shall be good his Majesty command the Treasurer-Deputy to confer with the gentleman and give him security of that which he craves, the service being done, and he making good the receipt (resset) which he offers to qualify. For this way the penalties of their entertaining will resound much (more?) than is craved" (No. 9, MS. Advocates' Library, A2, 53).

<sup>38</sup> *An Authentic Account*, &c. translated by Father Charles J. Karslake, S.J.

a man of good family and stalwart withal, and orders me off to his lordship. Imagining that I was called to the sheriff, the grandson of the traitor (as we had arranged), I said that I would willingly go, and accordingly turned back for the purpose. But the son of the magistrate was unwilling to part with me " (the son of the magistrate was the gentleman he was out walking with), "and insisted on my first going to his house, although the other man opposed it. Whilst, however, I am amicably arranging the dispute between the two, there is a concourse of town officers and citizens. They seize my sword, and begin pushing me and pulling me about. I inquire what harm I was doing, and whether they were quite in their right senses? I said that the others were quarrelling amongst themselves, and that I had nothing to do with it. No need for a long story. I am lifted up by the united rush of the gathering crowd, and almost borne away on their shoulders to the house of the magistrate. They snatch away my cloak; I said that I would not stir a step without my cloak, and thereupon somebody promised me his; but I wanted my own, and at last got it away from them. I protested against the barbarity of the angry crowd, and promised them that every one should one day know how barbarously they had treated me when I was doing no harm to any one, and that without any form of law taken out, or any cause assigned. Whilst this was going on, the Bishop, who was in another part of the city, is told that those whom he had sent to me had been killed, that a general slaughter was taking place, and that the city was in arms. As soon as he heard this statement, he



assembled the <sup>39</sup> lairds and barons who happened to be at that time in the city, and came with them in a body into the street. He saw that everything was quiet there, and inquired where I was. It was night by this time. They told him that I was in the house of the magistrate, that day elected. Thither he hastened with his whole company, and called me out as I was sitting between the table and the wall. I obey, and he strikes me a blow,<sup>40</sup> and says, 'You were an over insolent fellow to say your Masses in a reformed city.' I reply: 'You do not act like a bishop, but like an executioner in striking me.' Then, as though the signal had been thus given them, they shower their blows from all sides upon me, the hair is plucked from my beard, my face is torn with their nails, until Count Fleming restrains those who were striking me by his authority, and by main force. Then, whilst my senses had barely returned from the stunning effect of so many blows on my head, I am commanded to be stript. Some men there immediately obeyed the order, untying the strings and unbuttoning the buttons of my clothes; but when they are on the point of pulling off my shirt, very shame brought me back to my senses, and I cried out to know what such wanton insolence was for."<sup>41</sup>

Father Ogilvie was cast into prison that night. Meantime Spottiswood doubtless prepared the following letter, which was sent off to the King the

<sup>39</sup> See Archbishop's letter to the King, *infra*.

<sup>40</sup> "And said Masse in sindrie places within the towne. When the bishope challenged him for his hardines, he answered, that he hoped to have more friedom ere it were long; wherupon *the bishop buffeted him*" (Calderwood's *Historie*, vol. vii. p. 193. Woodrow Edit.).

<sup>41</sup> A note in the margin of the *Relatio Incarcerationis*.

day after the seizure. We have modernized the spelling.

Most sacred and gracious Sovereign,—It has pleased God to cast into my hands a Jesuit that calls himself Ogilvie. He came to this city and said some Masses, at which we have tried eight of our burgesses to being present. He was busy in perverting some others that went too far with him, for some of them presumed to resist my servants in his apprehension. Himself will answer nothing that serves for discovering his traffic in the country, that appears to be great. My Lord Kilsyth was here by good chance at his examination and the rest of his partakers, and has helped much in their confessions. The copy of them I have sent to the Secretary, who I trust shall send it up in the packet.<sup>42</sup> In his budget (portmanteau) we have found his vestments and other furniture for the Mass, with some books and relics of St. Ignatius, St. Margaret, St. Catharine, and other saints. Also some writings, amongst which the principal is a catalogue of things left by Father Anderson, a Jesuit, in Scotland, who seems to be out of the country. Thereby your Majesty will perceive the furniture of books and vestments they have in store, and some of their friends with whom the same is reserved. I will not trouble your Majesty with circumstance of his apprehension and names of his partakers here, anent whom I have written to your Highness's servant, John Murray, more particularly. Only, I will crave your Majesty's pardon

<sup>42</sup> The original depositions are still preserved among the Denmylne MSS., Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.



to deliver my advice for the punishment of these transgressors, the trial of the Jesuit, and finding out such things as are contained in the catalogue. Because exemplary punishment is necessary in this case, and by the laws their lives, lands, and whole estate are in your Majesty's hands; and the condition of the persons offending is not equal, your Majesty would be pleased to refer the determination thereof to my Lord Treasurer, my Lord Kilsyth, my Lord Advocate, and myself, as having here jurisdiction under your Majesty.

Commissioners would be given for this effect, and the Council commanded to depute one to the fore-named persons for putting the transgressors to trial and convicting them according to the law.

Being tried guilty and put in your Majesty's will, they would be fined according to their quality and estate, only Robert Haiggate,<sup>43</sup> that has been the seducer of the rest, would be banished out of your Majesty's kingdom during your Highness's pleasure.

The fine your Majesty will be graciously pleased to command the Treasurer divide with me, both in respect that all are burgesses<sup>44</sup> of the city, and by the privilege your Majesty's most noble predecessors have granted to this see, the escheats and forfeitures of all malefactors fall to the bishop, and that I may have wherewith to recompense the discoverer and others that have served in the business, to whom I have particularly obliged myself.

Their trial would be at Glasgow, and the Commissioners commanded by your Majesty's letter to

<sup>43</sup> All concerned declared that he, Robert Haiggate, was the person who introduced them to Father Ogilvie.

<sup>44</sup> Qâi arr all burgessis.

convene for that effect at the first convenient time they can choose.

For the Jesuit, your Majesty may be pleased to command him to be brought to Edinburgh and examined by such of the Council as your Majesty shall please nominate; of that number, the Secretary, Treasurer, my Lord Kilsyth, my Lord Advocate, and myself, because I have the writings (*writtis*) would seem fittest.

They would be commanded to use his examination with great secrecy, and, if he will not answer nor confess ingenuously, to give him the Boots or the torture.

For getting the books and vestments contained in the catalogue, it will be the safest means to charge the keepers of the same, and, where the ladies are named, to charge their husbands and commit them till the same be delivered. But for this and the better compassing of it the credit would be referred to my Lord Secretary, to move and follow it in Council by our advice and when we see it to be time.

Sire, these things I humbly present to your Majesty to be corrected at your Highness's good pleasure. The knowledge I have of our state here, and the considerations of everything that may best serve to the repressing of this great evil, and assuring that obedience which is due to God and your Majesty, makes me bold to deliver my opinion in this sort.

I beseech Almighty God to preserve your Majesty and to disappoint the practices of the wicked, and increase your Highness's blessings in despite of all God's and your enemies.

Your Majesty's most humble and obedient  
servant,

GLASGOW.

Glasgow (5th O.S.), October 15, 1614.

To His Most Sacred Majesty.<sup>45</sup>

It is evident that the capture of Father Ogilvie was an important one, and that he would be mercilessly treated by Spottiswood, who, as it has been seen, is for using the barbarous "boots" and "torture." Of this anon.

<sup>45</sup> *Archbishop of Glasgow to the King.* MSS. affairs of the Church of Scotland, Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, n. 66, A2, 51.

## PART THE SECOND

A CLOSE search was made all over the city. The magistrates, here and there, lighted on traces of Father Ogilvie which led to the apprehension of several persons—some say fourteen, others twenty, who had been in treaty with him about religion, or who had heard his Masses, or made him welcome in their homes. The inn where he had lodged was found out, his horse was taken away, and vestments and some papers of no secondary importance were also discovered. "Had men," wrote Father Ogilvie, "been only honourable and silent," those papers, etc., would not have been discovered. A Frenchman broke confidence—gave up the secret to the magistrates, and thus important evidence against the prisoner was secured.

On the 15th of October, 1614, Father Ogilvie had passed his first night in prison.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tolbooth at the City Cross. "By the Session Records in 1600 it appears that there had been another Tolbooth at the Cross before the one that was built in 1636" (*Glasgow, Past and Present*. Senex. Glasgow, 1856). The old one [in which Father Ogilvie was imprisoned] had a clock, for in 1610 we find George Smyth mentioned as *jeweler of the Tolbooth knockt*. The lower part of the building had booths, or shops, in it when taken down in 1626" (*Ibid.*). "Feb. 11, 1626. The said day it is concludit that the Provost and Bailies deal with John Boyd and Patrick Colquhoun anent the down-taking of the Tolbeuth to see quhat can be gottin down of three hundrith marks, as thai

We have an official account, as well as the martyr's own, concerning the discovery which the magistrates had made—the one sets off and confirms the other.

“On the following day,” wrote Father Ogilvie, “they take my horse from the inn, together with my other property there, and they discover the church furniture together with Father Patrick's (Anderson) letter for finding our property in Scotland, with a catalogue of names of Father Murdoch.”<sup>2</sup> “His budget being found,” says the

have alreddie offerit to tak down the saime for the said soume: and also to deal with John Neill, knock maker, to make ane new knock, and to try to these prices, and also to deal with the tenants of the buithies under the Tolbeuth that thai may remove. May 15, 1626. The said day the grund stane of the Tolbeuthe of Glasgow was laid” (Council Records). None of the Glasgow historians have given any description, nor is there any sketch of the old Tolbooth extant.

<sup>2</sup> *Authentic Account of Imprisonment, &c.* By Father C. Karslake. Patrick Anderson, a native of Morayshire (Elgin, or its neighbourhood, was his birthplace), and nephew of the celebrated Bishop Lesly, had risen by learning and talent to be head of the Scots' College at Rome. This position he left in order to add his exertions to those which a number of his co-religionists were making, at hazard of their lives, for the recovery of Scotland from the Calvinistic heresy. Dempster speaks of him as “*moribus innocens ac fide integer*,” and tells us he had no superior in mathematics and theology. Such as he was, he threw himself into this mission with a zeal and gallantry which no generous opponent could now dispute, but which was regarded in the Scotland of his own day as only a fiendish activity in leading souls to death and perdition. Father Patrick had not laboured long when he was apprehended with his vestments, books and papers, and committed to prison as a trafficking Romish priest. He owned to the fact of his having said Mass sundry times, but would not tell in whose house. In the ensuing October a brother-missionary, an Irishman named Edmund Cana, was apprehended along with a younger brother, “who carried,” says Calderwood, “his mass clothes, a portable altar, a flagon of wine, and other requisites necessary for the Mass.” Possibly King



Official Report, "in the house where he kept at night was conveyed out of the way by one of his familiars, and presented the next day, after search being made by the magistrates of the city: therein were found his Mass garments, chalice, altar (stone?), and the rest of that stuff, with letters not fit, at this time, to be divulged. Amongst others, a warrant to dispense with those who possessed Church livings, after this tenor—*Quoad dispensationem de bonis ecclesiasticis poteris dispensare ut retineant quæ possident, dummodo in pios usus aliquid impendant pro judicio Confessarii dispensantis.*"<sup>3</sup>

Not any article found on his own person, or in his bag, was valued by him so highly as a relic of St. Ignatius. This we know, not from any infor-

James had heard of the merits of Father Anderson as a man of learning, and felt some sympathy for him; perhaps the French Ambassador made friendly intercession in his behalf. However it was, after the Father had suffered nine months' imprisonment the King came to the resolution to show him some mercy. At his command, the Privy Council liberated the Father from prison, with a suit of good clothes, and some money in his pocket, on condition that he should leave Scotland, and return no more; otherwise he would be liable to capital punishment. It was enjoined upon the Provost and bailies of Edinburgh that they should "try and speir out some ship bown from the port of Leith towards France or Flanders; and when the ship is ready to lowse, that they tak the said Patrick Anderson furth of their Tolbooth, carry him to the ship, and deliver him to the skipper, and see him put aboard of the ship; and that they give a strait command and direction to the skipper that the said Anderson be not sufferit to come ashore again till their arrival at their port in France or Flanders, where they shall put him a-land" (Privy Council Records, MS. in General Register House, Edinburgh; *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 514, 515. Second Edition). He was betrayed by Alexander Boyd on March 17, 1620. Boyd's reward was £75. Father Anderson wrote one or two polemical works, and compiled the Lives of the Saints of Scotland (*Scotochronicon*, part iii.).

<sup>3</sup> *True Relation.*



mation afforded by the martyr's pen, but from two documents written by his enemies. The inventory, drawn up by himself, of what he had on his person, at his seizure, does not make any distinct mention, or indeed any mention at all, of that relic. "They find my Breviary and take possession of it, together with a *Compendium of all the Controverted Questions of Religion*; they seize the gold which I had in one purse, and the silver which I had in another, and a silver reliquary and the powder of the stone of Bezoar, and a ring, and also the seal with which I used to seal my letters."<sup>4</sup>

"He had," says the *True Relation*,<sup>5</sup> "in the same bag divers relics, pieces of wood, bones, and a tuft of Ignatius' hair, the founder of the Jesuit Order, which, I think, was *his chiefest jewel*."

Spottiswood, who probably stood by when the martyr was rifled, wrote in his history that "he had a tuft of Ignatius' hair, the founder of their Order, which he seemed to have in great regard."<sup>6</sup>

How came it to pass that Father Ogilvie made no special mention in his inventory of his "greatest jewel"? and how happened it to be known to his captors that he prized that relic above everything he had. Did he plead hard to be allowed to keep it? As he saw it in the hands of his enemies—did he look as a child would on the destruction of the last memento of a parent lost on earth for ever? He was taken out of the Tolbooth and led up to the Episcopal Palace<sup>7</sup> on the 15th of October. He was

<sup>4</sup> *Authentic Account*.

<sup>5</sup> Pitcairn, iii.

<sup>6</sup> *History*, lib. vii. p. 521.

<sup>7</sup> The Episcopal Palace, or Castle, stood on the vacant

faint and wearied. "On the next day, I am led out of prison to the Episcopal Palace where there was a great concourse of preachers and barons, and whither two had been summoned from the Royal Parliament. I am brought up accordingly, ill as I am still from the blows of the previous day, and with an unusual trembling upon me."<sup>8</sup>

Along with Father Ogilvie stood at the bar of the Archiepiscopal Court, charged with the crime of having practised the Catholic religion, nine persons, whose depositions we shall lay presently before the reader. The Bench was a full one, there being on it :

John Spottiswood, Archbishop of Glasgow.

Earl of Argyle.

Lord Kilsyth.

Lord Fleming.

Lord Boyd.

Laird of Minto.

Sir George Elphingstone.

Provost James Hamilton; and

Bailies Bell, Braidwood, and Colin Campbell.

The first man put forward—going upon the Official Report of the proceedings in Court—was Robert Heygate, a Glasgow shopkeeper. He well merited such an honour; for he stood the foremost Catholic, along with Marion Walker, in those days of confessorship. The document subjoined is an official one. It lets it be known under some

space in front of the present Infirmary, immediately southwest of the Cathedral. The Great Tower, which formed the principal portion of the building, was erected by Bishop Cameron in 1430. The entire structure was built of hewn stone, and inclosed with an embattled wall fifteen feet high.

<sup>8</sup> *Authentic Account.*

aspects what manner of man Father Ogilvie was. It shows how heartily he flung himself into his work. We need not, we trust, make any apology for weaving such a document into our narrative.

Robert Heygate being asked how long he has been acquainted with this priest? Answered, that he never saw him or spoke to him but within the last two months or thereby : and that he came down to him to his own booth (shop), and got some paper from him : and thereafter went with him to Mr. William Stewart's house, to get a choppin of wine, that he called himself a horse cowper (dealer), and was going to Kintyre to buy horses, and employed him to buy a horse. And thereafter he called himself a priest. But of his name he is ignorant, and never asked what it was. And being inquired if he entered with him in religion? He did so; and brought him to Marion Walker's house : and saw his books : and believed he spoke to him : and that he received from him the Sacrament of the Body of Christ, and that he is a Catholic. And being inquired if he wanted him to say Mass, he said he did, and heard Mass at the same time; and that there were with him Marion Walker, William Monteith, Matthew Adam, Thomas Forret, James Forret. And being asked if the priest had gone to Sir James Cleland's (Kneelland's) house or not? Heard William Monteith say that he had gone there. And being asked if the Lady Maxwell was at any Mass here lately, or at any Mass? Denied he had ever seen her. But knows that the priest spoke with her the last time she was here; and that the said priest told

him that he was one of the Society of Jesus. And being asked how that the friendship and acquaintance of the said priest was made with James Stewart? Confessed that he was the bringer of them together to confer: and that the said James stands still in his former religion: and that the said James was desirous to speak with the said priest, and that he was anxious to have the said James of his religion, but he would not give his name thereto. And also confessed, that there was a Mass said in the aforesaid Marion Walker's house by the said priest within two days afterwards: and that there were present the said William Monteith, Marion Walker, David Maxwell, brother to Newark; and that there was a priest who, in passing to the Eastwards, stayed one day in the town. Knew not the name of this priest, but he called himself Ogilvie. And being asked if Mass had been said by this priest in his own house or not? Confessed that there was one said there; and that he himself was clerk to the most of the Masses: and that his wife knew not thereof, but suspected the same. And at that time, when he should have gone to have bought the horse, he rode to Sir James Cleland's house. And this he declared by his solemn oath.

ROBERT HEIGATE.

Andrew Symmer, declared, that he drank with the priest in James Stewart's company, who solicited him to join his religion; but he would not give in to him. And that they reasoned on religion together.

ANDREW SYMMER.

The priest being asked what his name was, he called himself John Ogilvie, son of Walter Ogilvie of Drum; and that he has been out of this country twenty-two years; and that he studied in the Colleges of Olmutz and Gratz; and remained in Olmutz two years and in Gratz five years; and that he received the order of priesthood in Paris; and that he came home to Scotland before now, and remained six weeks or thereby. And that he now came home about May last, or thereby; and confessed that the bag produced on the table before him was his own. And that he was one of the ordinary Jesuits. And being asked whether the Pope's jurisdiction extended over the King's dominions in spiritual matters? Affirmed constantly the same, and would die for it.

JOHANNES OGILBÆUS, Societatis Jesu.

James Forret confesses, by his solemn oath, that he knew not this priest all the time that the Earl of Eglinton was here. And was sent for by him by . . . the servant woman of Marion Walker who dealt with him to come and hear Mass. And for that purpose the morning; at what time he said it (keipit); and the Mass was said by this priest, there being present Robert Heygate, Matthew Adam, William Monteith, Marion Walker, Thomas Forret, his brother. And declared he was never at any Mass before or after. And that there was a man called Dawnie, who seduced him to that religion, whereunto he can in no manner agree. And supposes that the said Dawnie had directed this priest to him, to draw him further on; who persuaded him to leave the kirk—which he did



since ; for which he craves God's forgiveness. And confesses, that before he was at the Mass that morning he made confession to the said priest who gave him absolution, and he took the sacrament.

J. FORRET.

James Stewart, being asked when he knew this priest ; by his great oath declared that he knew him twenty days or thereby ; and that Robert Heygate made him acquainted with the said priest. And after drinking a choppin of wine, he went with the said priest to the yard (garden ?) of Marion Walker, where he conferred with him on religion, and would nowise give in to him. But he had hopes of him, and told him that he would say Mass ; but he would not go to it. As for his name he did not know it.

J. STEWART.

William Monteith, being asked if he knew this priest or not, answered that he saw him in this town a month ago, or thereby ; and that he was in his company in the house of Marion Walker, and heard this priest say one Mass ; and denied having heard any more than one Mass. And thereafter being confronted with Robert Heygate, confessed that he had heard three Masses, two of them in Marion Walker's house, and one in Robert Heygate's house ; and that he got the sacrament. And being asked how he became a Catholic, he answered that he was first instructed in that religion, being a servant to the Laird of Kers, younger, by the Lady Angus, and Archibald Douglas, in Monkton, near Ayr, ten or twelve years ago. And declared that Thomas Forret told him of this priest ; and that Robert Heygate informed him that the said Thomas

Forret was a Catholic. And also declared that he saw John Wallace of Corsflat at Mass in Robert Heygate's house, said by the aforesaid priest.

WILLIAM MONTEITH.

Thomas Forret, being asked where he had first made acquaintance with this priest; declared that he first saw him in Marion Walker's house, being led to him by Robert Heygate, and after some conversation with him about religion, he requested him to come to Mass, which he did; and beforehand he made his confession and got absolution and received the sacrament. And that there were present at that Mass, Mr. John Mayne, Marion Walker, Matthew Adam, Robert Heygate, James Forret, William Monteith; and was at no Mass since that one, the sight of which made him despise that religion. And that those present likewise received the sacrament.

THOMAS FORRET.

Matthew Adam, being asked how long he had embraced the Popish religion; declared that he had done so about five years ago in Danskin, and has since received the sacrament. And that he had made the acquaintance of the priest four weeks ago, or thereby, by means of Robert Heygate. And was formerly made acquainted with a priest, Dawnie by name, in Marion Walker's house; and that he was at three Masses; that this priest said one in Robert Heygate's house, and two of them in Marion Walker's house. And being asked what was his religion now. Answered that his religion was that acknowledged by the laws of the land.

MATTHEW ADAM.

Mr. John Mayne, being asked if he knew this priest; declared on oath that he knew him in Marion Walker's house, to which he was brought by Robert Heygate; where he confessed himself to the priest, got absolution before he heard Mass and received the sacrament. And that there was present Marion Walker, James Forret, Thomas Forret, Robert Heygate, Matthew Adam, William Monteith. And that, as yet, he professes that religion and will do so.

MR. J. MAYNE.

John Wallace, of Corsflat, being asked if he was at Mass said by this priest, or not, in Robert Heygate's house, confessed that he was present thereat, and had been brought to it by the said Robert Heygate.

JOHN WALLACE.<sup>9</sup>

The above document is a meagre one, so far as it records the questions put to and answered by Father Ogilvie, nor does it manifest how ably he defended the faith. The notes taken by Father Ogilvie on that occasion are very useful here—illustrating, as they do, several important points which are not even alluded to in the Official Report.

They asked if I had said Mass in the royal dominions?

R. If this is a crime it ought to be investigated, not by my oath, but by witnesses.

We have proved it, they say, by the testimony of those who saw you.

R. If the witnesses satisfy you on the point, all right: their testimony shall neither be awakened

<sup>9</sup> Depositions of Jesuits and Papists.

by my denial nor strengthened by my confession until I see fit.

Then you are a priest, they say.

R. If you have proved to demonstration that I have said Masses, by the same witnesses you will be convinced that I am a priest.

They ask, do you acknowledge the King?

[Here, we take leave to observe, comes the question of questions, even in these days; that is to say: Is Cæsar above Peter?]

R. James is *de facto* King of Scotland.

Here I was a little afraid; but the stupid fellows, not understanding law terms, did not know how to examine further.

Then I was asked if I had said any Masses in the King's dominions?

R. This, by reason of the King's edicts and the Acts of Parliament, would prejudice me and my neighbour, and does not pertain to the King's forum, and therefore I am not bound to say, because I am not bound by any law to ruin myself and other innocent persons. If they were judges, I say, it was their duty to inquire after crimes, not after sacrifices. And I add that thefts, treasons, homicides, poisonings belonged to the King's forum, not the sacraments of religion.

Then they asked me, what I had come to Scotland for?

R. To unteach heresy.

They inquire who had given me jurisdiction, since neither the King nor any bishop had given it.

R. I smiled, and said that the latter were all laymen along with the King, and had no jurisdic-

tion any more than he; that the sheep of Christ had been committed to Peter, and that whoever might wish to feed them in any part of the world must ask permission from the Apostolic See, where, according to the promises of Christ, there is preserved, through the infallible assistance of the Holy Spirit in a continual succession of persons to the end of the world, the authority and power first given to the Prince of the Apostles, whereby Simon, the son of John, was hardened into the Rock of the Church, that so he might be Cephas and be called Peter. From that Apostle, I continued, is my jurisdiction and that jurisdiction by an *ordinary* route, counting backwards through all the Pontiffs, I am able to trace back to Christ.

It is the crime of treason, they say, to assert that the Pope has spiritual jurisdiction in the King's dominions.

R. It is of faith that he has.

They say, do you dare put your signature to that?

R. Even with my blood, if need be; and forthwith I subscribed my name.<sup>10</sup>

The examination went on. At every stage of it Father Ogilvie showed an acute mind and disclosed how loyal-hearted he was to Rome. He stood on truth; whereas the Archbishop and the other occupants of the Bench were swayed by prejudice.

An attempt was made to prove that he was an impostor—no Ogilvie; but it failed. He was of gentle birth,<sup>11</sup> and so were his parents. We know this independently of his own declaration in Court.

<sup>10</sup> *Authentic Account.*

<sup>11</sup> "Father John Ogilvie was a brother of William



Twenty-six hours had elapsed since the martyr fell into the hands of the Archbishop, and all that while he had tasted nothing! For all that, and although shivering with cold, he held his own against all comers. The only kindness shown him was his being ordered off to the fire. It is on record that seldom had there been so severe a winter as that of 1614-15. It was long remembered in Scotland; and so keen was the cold that the song birds next spring were missed. The snow fell to such a depth and lay so long on the ground, that, according to Sir Robert Gordon, the greater part of the cattle perished in the North.<sup>12</sup>

The Catholics convicted for having heard Mass were sentenced to the gallows, and some to the wheel. The royal clemency saved them from the last rigour of the law.<sup>13</sup>

Fourteen of such criminals, according to Father Ogilvie's statement, were in the Tolbooth of Glasgow. The *Historie of King James the Sext* says that some of them were sent to Dumbarton Castle.

The Court rose: Father Ogilvie was led down the High Street to the Tolbooth, and thus ended that day's proceedings.

On October the 18th he was shut up in a cell. "I am led back to prison October 15th and two days afterwards to my cell; after a little while I am fastened with two rings to a lump of iron of about two hundred pound in weight, shaped like a pole, Ogilvie, a gentleman who has a considerable fortune in land near Keith, and now is styled laird" (Father George Johnston's letter, March 3, 1673, to Father William Lewis Leslie, Rome). Father Ogilvie, being the eldest son, would have been laird (*Preshome MSS.*).

<sup>12</sup> *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. 1.

<sup>13</sup> *Authentic Account*.

so that I could only sit and lie on my back, but could do nothing else whatever, unless stand for a little while.”<sup>14</sup> Scott’s truthful pen reveals some details passed over by Father Ogilvie in describing what he calls in his narrative “my cell.” *Waverley* was so exact, even in very minute particulars, in his pen and ink sketches of scenery and places, that his pages are not unfrequently as faithful as photographs. The description which he gives of a cell in a Scottish prison may be assumed to represent that cell, the door of which was barred upon Father Ogilvie on the 18th of October.

“The gaol at the county town . . . was one of those old-fashioned dungeons which disgraced Scotland until of late years. . . . A round bar of iron, about the thickness of a man’s arm above the elbow, crossed the apartment horizontally at the height of about six inches from the floor, and its extremities were strongly built into the wall at either end. . . . The ankles were secured within shackles, which were connected by a chain at the distance of about four feet, with a large iron ring, which travelled upon the bar which we have described. Thus a prisoner might shuffle along the length of bar from one side of the room to another, but could not retreat farther from it in any other direction than the brief length of the chain admitted. . . . A pallet bed was placed close to the bar of iron, so that the shackled prisoner might lie down at pleasure, still fastened to the iron bar in the manner described.”<sup>15</sup>

The Archbishop’s letter, dated Glasgow, October

<sup>14</sup> *Authentic Account.*

<sup>15</sup> *Guy Mannering*, ch. lvii.

(5th O.S.) 15, 1614, which we have already perused, was duly answered. The King gave the Archbishop the instructions he had asked; and it will be remembered, we doubt not, that Spottiswood encouraged James to order Father Ogilvie to be subjected to the torture of the boots. The hint was not lost upon the King. "Meanwhile," wrote the martyr, "a letter comes back from London. I am ordered to be examined with the leg torture of the boots, that I may betray the places and the persons of the Catholics."<sup>16</sup> Before he is subjected to the boots, let the reader examine them by means of descriptions written by those who had actually seen them.

The boots were instruments of judicial torture, formerly used in Scotland to force confessions from persons accused of crimes, or answers from unwilling or suspected witnesses. Bishop Burnet in the *History of his own times*, and Sir Walter Scott in his *Old Mortality*, speak of the boot as made of iron; but the Rev. Thomas Morer in his *Short Account of Scotland*, written from personal observation of the country at a time when the boot was still in use, describes it as "made of four pieces of narrow boards nailed together, of a competent length for the leg, not unlike those short cases we use to guard young trees from the rabbits. One or both legs of the person to be tortured having been placed in this case, wedges were inserted between the limb and the sides of the case, and these wedges were driven down by the executioner with a mallet or hammer, questions being at intervals put to the sufferer, until either he give the

<sup>16</sup> *Authentic Account.*

required information, or fainted away, or showed such endurance as satisfied the judges that no answers could be extorted from him.”<sup>17</sup> The wedges were commonly placed against the calf of the leg, but Bishop Burnet says he had heard that they were sometimes placed against the shin bone.

Not a word passed Father Ogilvie’s lips; no secret was extorted. No person who had knelt at his extemporized altars in “sundrie places” in the city, had reason to regret—so far as Father Ogilvie was concerned—that he had practised the religion which was the established one in Scotland for a decade of centuries.

Orders had come that he should be sent to Edinburgh for further examination. There was a crowd about the gates of the Tolbooth the day he left Glasgow for the capital—a crowd in which were the wives and friends of the Catholics who were in gaol. He had anything but a welcome from them. They greeted him, he tells us, with curses and mud. Every indignity was heaped upon him as he passed through the city on horseback. A woman cursed his ugly face; “Heaven bless your bonnie one!” was his reply. The crowd was encouraged to pelt him with snowballs. He took all patiently, even cheerfully. “I ride on gaily through the streets, as if I cared naught for it, so that they are surprised at my coolness. I said in a loud voice, according to the Scotch proverb, ‘It’s past joking when the head’s aff.’ The heretics took notice that I gave back blessings for curses, and was good-humoured with those who were angry.”<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *Chambers’ Encyclopedia*, vol. ii. 1861.

<sup>18</sup> *Authentic Account*.



A long road lay before him—forty miles, on a wintry day—yet he went forward with brave heart. It was on the 8th of December that he rode out of Glasgow. On reaching Edinburgh he made an attempt at disguising himself; it was but a poor effort, and consisted only in exchanging his cloak for his riding-coat. Nor was this disguise of any avail, for the people identified him at once. He was lodged, on his arrival in the capital, at the Bishop's house, and was soon after conducted to the Castle. An authority—*Historie of King James the Sext*—states that he was kept in "strait ward," and that a guard was placed over him, so that the Castle, and not the Bishop's house, appears to have been the place of his imprisonment. Besides, it was in the Castle that the instruments of torture were kept, and it was there, also, most probably, that the Commissioners met, three days after his arrival. The three days which elapsed from his arrival till the meeting of the Commissioners were not days of rest for Father Ogilvie, but very much the reverse. Again and again that instrument of torture—the boots—was brought forth and shown to him, and he was threatened repeatedly with them, unless he delivered up the names of the persons who had been in correspondence with him. When threats failed, rewards were offered him. He was promised a capital living—the Provostship of Moffat—and a grand marriage, the bride, as we shall see further on, being Miss Spottiswood, the Archbishop's daughter. He was above such offers—being a priest who knew the joys found in the draining of the chalice. "The boots," he wrote, "for torturing the legs were brought forth." He despised



and jested over them, saying he could earn a living even after his legs had been broken into pieces. As for the Provostship of Moffat, he laughed at the offer, and said it was unfair to Father Moffat, who had more right to it than himself, if only for the sake of his name. "Moffat should go to Moffat." At this time the confessor, Father James Moffat, was a close prisoner in Edinburgh Castle—December 10, 1614.

The Lords Commissioners met, in virtue of James' missive, on December 12. The Royal Commissioners were—

Lord Binning,  
 Lord Kilsyth,  
 Sir Gideon Murray, Treasurer,  
 Sir William Oliphant, Attorney-General.

His Grace, Archbishop Spottiswood, sat along with them.<sup>19</sup>

Father Ogilvie having been put forward, was asked if the packet of papers lying on the table was his? He said it was. Thereupon began a series of questions not unlike those which had been put to and answered, on the 15th of October, by Father Ogilvie. One by one these questions led up to the climax :

"Are you willing to obey the King?"

He replied, "Yes, in all things which are due to the King."

They said, "The King forbids Masses, and you say them."

"Whether Christ or the King," answered Father Ogilvie, "is rather to be obeyed, judge ye.

<sup>19</sup> Calderwood. vol. vii.

The King forbids it, but Christ, in St. Luke xxii., has ordained it, and commanded Masses to be celebrated, as I will prove to you if you wish it. And if the King condemns what Christ instituted, how will he escape being called a persecutor? "

They said, "The King of France has forbidden his country to the Protestants, and Spain burns for religion."

"Neither Francis has forbidden France, nor does Philip burn for religion," replied Father Ogilvie, "but for heresy, which is not religion, but rebellion."

This arrow was well chosen and well aimed. It pierced James. The martyr knew it, for in his notes he wrote, "Lord Kilsyth nodded to the Archbishop and laughed; the latter gave a sign with his head, but said nothing." Neither Francis nor Philip made pretensions equal to those which James put forth. Mary Stuart's son owned no superior in his realms. He was, in his own esteem, a Pope-King. Even the trimmings on the episcopal robes did not lie beyond his study. The Church was under him, not he under the Church. He was a Bishop-maker; hence he would not brook opposition or rivalry in the ecclesiastical order. His right to rule the Church in his dominions was to be held undisputed: hence he was a persecutor.

"You ought not to have come into this kingdom," they said.

Catholics, it is frequently asserted, are not patriots. This is false. Patriotism is not a sentiment, but a duty with a Catholic. It is not always so with others. How patriotic Father Ogilvie was we learn from his Deposition and from his replies

given before the Commissioners. In his Deposition he called Scotland twice or thrice "home." Scotland and home were with him exchangeable terms. When asked—

"Why did you come into Scotland against the Royal will?"

"The King cannot," he replied, "forbid me my own country without a legitimate cause, since I am just as much a natural subject as the King himself!"

One of the Commissioners interposed: "We are not here for a disputation!"

Father Ogilvie said: "I am not here either for a disputation: nor am I to be countryless. If I have done aught against the King or country, prove it by witnesses. But this you cannot do. Why, then, do you annoy me?"

"Your silence," said one of them, "deepens our suspicions that you fear lest your accomplices should betray you." This was a keen remark. It was designed so to wound the pride of the martyr as to make him on the impulse of the moment—conscious of his innocence—disclose what even torture could not force from him, the names of the faithful who had harboured him. Father Ogilvie read its purpose. "You ask me to give up the names of those who heard Mass—who were in communication with me. That I cannot and will never do. First, because by offending God as a traitor who ruins his neighbour I should kill my own soul. Secondly, nor would it do any good, but only harm, for the terror of you and the King's rewards might make some inconstant person feign that there was a conspiracy, to gain your favour

and the King's, and thus you might have some cloak for your cruelty in taking my life whom now for fear of infamy you do not punish as you would wish to do."

"The King," they said, "takes no one's life on account of religion."

"Why then," he replied, "have the Glasgow prisoners been condemned to the wheel and the gibbet?"

This interchange of words ended in a threat. "Pray do not force us to torture you according to the King's command."

It being late the Commissioners rose: and Father Ogilvie was led back to his cell. The very next day he was tortured. The Commissioners had decided, during the night, that he should be deprived of sleep.

"Accordingly for eight days and nine whole nights they forced me to keep awake with styles, pins, needles, and pinchings, threatening me meanwhile with extraordinary tortures and promising me great rewards."

Before Father Ogilvie had passed his ninth night of forced sleeplessness, we shall make an extract from an authority descriptive of the torture of "sleeplessness": "This barbarous mode of extorting confession had been prevalent in cases of witchcraft, where the criminals were supposed to be under the direct dominion of Satan. Human nature could not long stand so exquisite a torture. The suspected parties were often driven into a state of delirium; and in many instances they must have been glad to confess anything which may have been proposed by their examiners, to escape

from a life held by such miserable torture.”<sup>20</sup> Such was Father Ogilvie’s torture eight days and nine whole nights! “The Jesuit was kept in strait ward, and a guard of men, for the space of eight days, with small sustenance, and *compelled*, and *withholden perforce* from sleep to the great perturbation of his brain; and to compel him *ad delirium*.”<sup>21</sup>

“He was not suffered,” wrote Calderwood,<sup>22</sup> “to take sleepe some nights and dayes together. His brains being lightsome secretes were drewene out of him, but came not to the knowledge of the people.” This we deny; we deny that secrets were wrung from him—else why were they not divulged? Not any thing was ever published that he had disclosed. And on this point, who is so good a witness as Archbishop Spottiswood? “Upon advertisement being made to his Majesty, a Commission was sent to the Secretary the Lord Kilsyth, the Treasurer Deputy, and Advocate for his [Father Ogilvie’s] examination and trial. Being presented before them and inquired . . . where he had resorted? He denied to give any answer at all, saying that he would not utter anything that might work prejudice to others: nor could he be induced either by persuasion or threatening to detect the persons with whom he had resorted. The Commissioners, offended at his obstinacy, and meaning to extort a confession from him, advised to keep him some nights from sleep; and this indeed wrought somewhat with him, so as he begun to discover certain particulars, but how

<sup>20</sup> Pitcairn’s *Criminal Trials*, notes, vol. iii. p. 332.

<sup>21</sup> *The Historie of King James the Sext.*

<sup>22</sup> *Historie*, vol. vii. p. 193. Woodrow Edition.



soon he was permitted to take any rest, he denied all, and was as obstinate in denying as at first.”<sup>23</sup>

No man who stood near the martyr had the same interest in getting information from him as his Grace of Glasgow; and yet he owns that all those sleepless nights and days nothing escaped the martyr's lips which could be relied on. In short, no secret was wrung from him. The country was full of the report of the tortures he endured. “The report of my watchings was spread through all Scotland.”<sup>24</sup> And no wonder. Barons and lords, perhaps out of sympathy, perhaps the reverse, urged him to satisfy the King. It was no use. The Archbishop grew desperate, so constant was Father Ogilvie in endurance, and so chivalrous in sheltering those whom the Crown sought to discover. The Archbishop regretted that he had put a finger on him. One who had his turn along with others in seeing that the martyr got no sleep went so far as to tell him that his head would yet find a spike on the western gate of the capital. Father Ogilvie seemed to wake up at this unfeeling threat. “Bloodthirsty monster that you are, I make no account of you all in this cause; act according to your heretical malice. What care I for death! Go and talk to faint-hearted women. I laugh at your tortures; I despise them, and your threats are only the cackling of geese.”

The nine nights of watching had run out. The Commissioners summoned Father Ogilvie before them. Alternately were threats uttered and re-

<sup>23</sup> Spottiswood, *The History of the Church of Scotland*, lib. vii. p. 521.

<sup>24</sup> *Authentic Account*.

wards promised. He was quite exhausted. "I was weak, for the watching so weakened me that I scarce knew what I said and what I did, or in what place I was, and very often I knew not in what city I was."

He was reminded of what had been said before. "Unless you satisfy the King there are more horrible things coming." "Try your worst," said he. "On with your boots; with God as my guide, I will show you that in this cause I care no more for my legs than you for your leggings. I consider myself born for greater things than to be overcome by sense."

The Royal Commission failed.

Christmas was nigh, and Archbishop Spottiswood had to repair to Glasgow for its celebration. Such festivals as Easter and Christmas were being revived at that period in Scotland, and it was requisite that he should be in the cathedral on that day.

On Christmas Eve Father Ogilvie was led back to Glasgow, Spottiswood being unwilling to leave his prisoner in Edinburgh. "I came to Glasgow," wrote the martyr, "on the vigil of our Lord's Nativity, and was then fastened by both feet to my iron pole; but now I am only fastened by one foot, with a bolt and two iron chains binding the iron, lest I should contract disease from always lying on my back."<sup>25</sup>

He lay a prisoner in Glasgow until his death.

<sup>25</sup> *Authentic Account.*

## PART THE THIRD

FATHER JAMES GORDON wrote from Paris, April 21, 1615, that the martyr was removed to Glasgow by the express order of the King. James, in this particular, as well as in others, as for instance the torturing of Father Ogilvie with the "boots," acted on the suggestion of Archbishop Spottiswood. His Grace betrayed a most extraordinary solicitude about the safe custody of his prisoner. The castle, his own residence, was his prison, and not the Tolbooth. The services of the ordinary goaler were dispensed with. His own steward was made the Jesuit's turnkey. This circumstance did not escape the notice of his fellow-prisoners.

"The Archbishop removed from his place the gaoler of the prison, a man in other ways kind towards the prisoner, and substituted for him his own steward, a rough-mannered and hard-hearted man, who used to leave him in continual solitude, loaded with iron as above mentioned. Not trusting to the bolts with which the heavy feet-chains were fastened together, this man caused pieces of iron, like wedges turned back on either side, to be inserted in the joinings of the rings, so afraid was he lest his prisoner should escape, although the martyr used to say that he would not break even chains of wax, nor go out if the doors were

opened. . . . They added, moreover, extraordinary watchings, the citizens succeeding by turns in the night watches.”<sup>1</sup>

Although the Commission had broken down, and the Jesuits had triumphed, yet the King clung desperately to the hope that he would see him either overthrown in argument, or proving himself a recreant to Rome. He reckoned without his host. “Once again,” wrote Father Ogilvie, “a letter came back from London.” We know more about that letter than the martyr did. It contained a list of questions on which he was to be tested, and the Archbishop was instructed to write down the answers given and forward them to his Royal Master. His Grace of Glasgow did not fail in duty to James; he did as he was ordered. Accordingly January 28 (18th O.S.), 1615, there assembled in the Archbishop’s Court, for “trying of the Jesuit”:

His Grace, John Spottiswood,  
The Lord Bishop of Argyle,  
Lord Fleming,  
Sir George Elphingstone,  
James Hamilton, Provost of Glasgow,  
Mr. Robert Boyd, Principal of the University, and  
Mr. Robert Scott, one of the city ministers.

The Archbishop read over one by one the following questions:

“1. Whether the Pope be judge, and hath power *in spiritualibus* over his Majesty; and whether that power will reach over his Majesty *in tem-*

<sup>1</sup> A continuation of the history, &c., of the aforesaid Father by his fellow-prisoners.

*poralibus* if it be *in ordine ad spiritualia*? as Bellarmine affirmeth.

“ 2. Whether the Pope hath power to excommunicate Kings (especially such as are not of his Church) as his Majesty?

“ 3. Whether the Pope hath power to depose Kings by him excommunicated, and in particular, whether he hath power to depose the King’s Majesty?

“ 4. Whether it be no murder to slay his Majesty being so excommunicated and deposed by the Pope?

“ 5. Whether the Pope hath power to assoilzie subjects from the oath of their born and native allegiance to his Majesty? ”<sup>2</sup>

Father Ogilvie subscribed his name to the document whereon Spottiswood had written his answers. These answers are thrown into a note taken from the Archbishop’s own work, *The History of the Church of Scotland*.<sup>3</sup>

The martyr’s own notes of this conference are embodied in this narrative, thus affording an ample report of the proceedings.

<sup>2</sup> *The History of the Church of Scotland*, lib. vii. 522

<sup>3</sup> “ I acknowledge the Pope of Rome to be Judge unto his Majesty, and to have power over him *in spiritualibus*, and over all Christian Kings. But where it is asked whether that power will reach over him *in temporalibus*, I am not obliged to declare my opinion thereon, except to him that is Judge in controversies of Religion, to wit, the Pope; or one having authority from him. For the second point: I think that the Pope hath power to excommunicate the King; and when it is said that the King is not of the Pope’s Church, I answer that all who are baptized are under the Pope’s power. To the third where it is asked if the Pope hath power to depose, the King being excommunicated, I say that *I am not tied to declare my mind except to him that is Judge in controversies of Religion*. To the fourth and fifth I answer *ut supra* ” (lib. vii. 522).



They ask: "Can the Pope depose an heretical King?"

"This," answered Father Ogilvie, "is the opinion of many Doctors, and a very probable doctrine, that he can: and when it shall have been defined as of faith I will lay down my life in defence of it; meanwhile, I am not bound to say what I think until I shall be juridically interrogated by the Judge of religious controversies, that is to say, by the Pope, or by one who has authority from him."

Secondly, they ask "whether a King excommunicated by the command of the Pope may be killed?"

"You have no spiritual jurisdiction, and therefore lest I might seem to acknowledge that the King has spiritual jurisdiction, I do not wish to reply to a question of spiritual doctrine. If you were to consult me for the sake of instruction I would speak, but since you interrogate me as judges I cannot, with a safe conscience, say what I think. I have condemned both the oaths proposed to the English, of supremacy and allegiance."

They ask, "Has the Pope jurisdiction above the King?"

"He has, if the latter be a baptized Christian."

"Can the Pope excommunicate the King?"

"He can."

"How can he excommunicate a man who is not in his Church?"

"A heretic," was Father Ogilvie's reply to this searching query, "is in the Church as regards the possibility of punishment, not as regards the communion of the gifts and graces of salvation, for just

as the King can capture and punish banditti and robbers, so the Pope has power and ought to chastise rebellious heretics and those who fly from Mother Church, for the Pope acquires a right over a man when he is baptized, because then he enters the Church, and becomes a member of the Mystical Body and a sheep of Christ's flock, of which the Pope is the shepherd." <sup>4</sup>

"Being reasoned with," wrote Spottiswood, <sup>5</sup> "a long time, and the danger expounded, wherein he did cast himself by maintaining such treasonable opinions, he answered, '*that he would not change his mind for any danger that could befall him;*' and speaking of the Oath of Allegiance, said, that '*it was a damnable oath, and treason against God to swear it.*' Some days being allowed him to bethink himself better of these points, when as no advice could prevail, answers were sent to his Majesty subscribed by himself, and therewith a testification of such as were present at the giving thereof."

How fared the martyr during the interchange of letters between Spottiswood and King James? The document introduced here will tell. It was written by Father Ogilvie only sixteen days before he grasped the martyr's palm.

Reverend Father in Christ,—  
Pax Christi.

Your reverence will easily judge of my present condition from the bearer of this. It is a

<sup>4</sup> *Authentic Account of the Imprisonment and Martyrdom of Father Ogilvie.*

<sup>5</sup> *History of the Church of Scotland.* Lib. vii. 522.

capital offence to be caught writing, so that before the return of the turnkey I must needs hurry.

Your Reverence, when Provincial of Austria, first received me into the Society;<sup>6</sup> on that account I may recommend my children with the greater confidence to your Reverence as to their grandfather. Should, therefore, Mr. John Mayne require your services, I beg that he may find in my dearest Ferdinand, the Father of genuine charity, some share of the kindness which I have experienced.

I have written to the bearer of this. Your Reverence may ask, if you please, what he has done with the particulars that may serve for our Annals.

I earnestly recommend myself to your Reverence's prayers. Dated from my prison at Glasgow, where I lie under a load of two hundred weight of irons, looking for death, unless I accept the proffered favour of the King, that is, a rich preferment and another religion. Once I have sustained the torture of being kept without sleep for nine nights and eight days. Now I expect two other tortures, and then death.

I am still awake this 22nd February, 1615.

Your Reverence's servant in Christ,

JOANNES OGILBÆUS, Soc. Jesu.<sup>7</sup>

This letter was addressed to Father Ferdinand Alberi.

<sup>6</sup> "1596. Joannes Ogilvy, ex Calvinismo, ut exoneraretur Seminarium, missus est 27 Junii, 1598, ad monasterium Scotorm. Ratisbonense." (Register of Students at Douay.) *Preshome MSS.*

<sup>7</sup> There is a very slight discrepancy between this translation and the Latin copy at Stonyhurst.

The two weeks and two days which elapsed from the hour Father Ogilvie wrote that letter to the day of his trial and death (for he was tried, condemned, and hanged on the same day) must have been for him a weary time. Archbishop Spottiswood and his wife, the ministers Scott, Struthers, and Boyd, and the Earl of Lothian, invaded his cell, bent, if possible, upon winning the martyr from Rome by base and paltry lures such as "a rich preferment" and "a grand marriage." Some theological free lances did not hesitate to try the temper of their arms in encounters with the Jesuit borne down to the flagstones of his prison by the weight of his fetters. In vain did the Archbishop flatter him, calling him a mettlesome fellow. In vain did he make him the offer of his daughter in marriage. In vain did the Archbishop's wife show fondness for him. Their efforts were futile. Tortures were twice tried and twice failed. The Jesuit was immoveable. Blandishments could not win him, sufferings could not shake him. His faith never wavered. It was determined at last he should be put to death; but, although this resolve was taken, the forms of law had to be observed. An interesting document, the original of which is given in a note,<sup>8</sup> reveals to us not only how jealous the Arch-

<sup>8</sup> Anno 1663, dum Edinburgi sermo mihi esset cum Illustrissima Virgine Domina Margarita Hamilton, sorore Illustrissimi Comitis Abercorniæ, de Martyrio generosi Athletis et Martyris Joannis Oglibæi, dixit: "Nocte præcedente illius martyrium luna tum splendente, mulierem quamdam civem Glasguæ, dum e fenestra quæ e regione patibuli erecti erat, vidisse se hominem nitidissimum, lintea veste cinctum, e palatio Episcopi (ubi tum Martyr inclusus detinebatur) junctis et erectis manibus per plateam descendisse, et ante tabulatum, ubi eminebat patibulum,

bishop was of the custody of his prisoner in as far as he had not committed him to the Tolbooth at the Cross, the city prison, but confined him in his own palace, and had erected, before sentence of death was passed, even the scaffold on which he died. We give a translation of the document which appears in the note: "In the year 1663, I was in conversation, at Edinburgh, with the illustrious Lady Margaret Hamilton (who was unmarried), sister of the noble Marquis of Abercorn. She spoke to me of the heroic martyr, John Ogilvie. 'The night before his martyrdom,' she said, 'there being moonlight, while a woman living at Glasgow was looking out of a window which was opposite the scaffold, she saw a man of remarkable aspect clad in a white garment, leave the Bishop's castle (wherein the martyr was kept prisoner), and with hands raised heavenwards, glide down the street, kneel for some time in prayer, in front of the scaffold, from which rose the gibbet, and in a distinct voice say, "Mary, Mother of Grace, Mother flexis genibus aliquamdiu orasse, et hæc clara voce dixisse—

Maria, Mater Gratiae, Mater Misericordiæ,  
Tu nos ab hoste protege, et hora mortis suscipe.

"Rem miram," inquam ego, "mihi narras et pergratam sane, si de veritate mihi constaret." "Ego," inquit illa, "non minus sollicita eram, cum mihi primum narraretur, de rei veritate indaganda. Proinde Pasleto Glasguam profecta sum, ut ab ipsa muliere illam expiscarer: quæ, professione licet acatholica, et literaturæ linguæque Latinæ omnino ignara, iisdem tamen verbis et circumstantiis retulit, et jurejurando affirmavit." Hæc, inquam, habui ab ipsa virgine, pietate prudentia et judicio omnibus notissima; ut hic refero, ni fallar, relationem hanc pluribus abhinc annis, inter annuas Romam scripsi. Duaci Feb. xxiii. 1672. THOMAS ROBÆUS, e Soc. Jesu, Sacerdos, manu propria (*Prêshome MSS.*).



of Mercy, defend me from the enemy, and receive me in the hour of death.” ‘ This is glad news indeed,’ said I, ‘ for which I am very thankful, but how am I to credit it ? ’ ‘ I myself,’ said she, ‘ was no less anxious than you are to have it verified. So I left Paisley and went to Glasgow to find the woman who saw this vision; who though not a Catholic, and quite ignorant of Latin, repeated the very words, and detailed the circumstances mentioned, and swore to the truth of her statement.’

“ This did I hear from that lady, a woman well known for her piety, prudence, and judgment; and this statement I wrote down a good number of years ago while in Rome, in testimony of which I herewith subscribe my name, with my own hand, at Douay, 23rd February, 1672.—THOMAS ROBE,<sup>9</sup> S.J., Priest.”

The Catholics had planned the martyr’s escape; preparations were made for his leaving the Archbishop’s castle in perfect safety the night before his death. But he would not stir a foot beyond the threshold of his cell. “ On the night which preceded the martyrdom of the Venerable<sup>10</sup> Father

<sup>9</sup> He was employed on the Scotch Mission in 1636; three years later he had retired to London. In his letter from thence, October 31, 1639, he recommends his mother, who had died on the 4th of that month, to the prayers of the Father General Vetelleschi. From London he removed to Douay, where, for a considerable time, he was Rector of the Scotch College. He was still living there in August, 1676 (*Oliver’s Collectanea*).

<sup>10</sup> Nocte, quæ Martyrium Venerabilis Patris Joannis Ogilbæi proxime præcessit, perillustis, Dominus Joannes Browne de Log-hill, pater R. P. Jacobi Browne Societatis Jesu, ipsum ex pietate in carcere invisens, certam jacenti viam et ad vitam conservandam, et ad libertatem eadem nocte recuperandam aperturum se promisit. Arridens humanissime Pater, nobilemque Dominum amicissime complexus, summas pro oblato beneficio gratias illi retulit, sancte

John Ogilvie, Mr. John Browne of Loghill, father of the Rev. James Browne, S.J., whilst making a visit of charity to the Father in prison, promised he would that night open to him a way of escape, of saving his life, and recovering his liberty. The Father smiled affectionately, and embracing the distinguished gentleman with great marks of friendship, expressed his extreme gratitude for the proffered kindness, but assured him that death for so grand a cause was more acceptable than any life, and that he looked forward to it with so sincere a desire as to fear nothing so much as that by any accident he should be snatched from it."<sup>11</sup> The two rushed into one another's arms, and the generous martyr begged Mr. Browne not to leave the city until God had completed what he had begun in him. This Mr. Browne promised he would faithfully observe, and undertook to keep as close to the Father's side as he could.<sup>12</sup>

testatus mortem pro tam illustri causa, quavis vita, gratiorem sibi futuram; seque tam sincero in illam affectu ferri, nihil ut magis metueret quam ne quo ab illa casu eriperetur. Qui animus cum nobilem tunc ætate juniorem vehementer et recrearet, et ad ea quæ pro Fide passus est subeunda potentissime animaret, in mutuos cum lacrymis amplexus ruerunt, rogante generose Xti. martyre ne civitate ante egrederetur quam quo in se Deus inchoaverat perficeret: quod ipse se constanter facturum pollicitus statuit Patris latus quam proxime posset stipare. Document written and signed by Fr. James Browne, S.J., Rector of Douay College in 1668 and 1672 (*Preshome MSS.*).

<sup>11</sup> Appendix of *Authentic Account*, &c. Father Karslake.

<sup>12</sup> Over two hundred years ago a Scottish nobleman, being warmly interested in Father Ogilvie, spent £200 in promoting his cause at Rome. After the usual process had been gone through, Father Ogilvie was styled Venerable. He is, we believe, the only one of the British martyrs who died for the faith since the so-called Reformation, who bears that title (Note from Rev. John Morris, S.J.).

Evidently Father Ogilvie had set his life upon the cast, and would, God helping, stand the hazard of the die.

“ Either he must withdraw his statements in favour of Papal Supremacy or die,” such was the substance of the King’s letter to Spottiswood, a day or so before the martyr was hanged. The last night he passed in the Castle—the last one of the twenty-two weeks he lay the Archbishop’s prisoner—was a wearisome one for him. He could not pray, the uproar of the gaolers and others was so great. “ To-morrow,” he said to those about him, “ is my wedding day!” And so it was. It was only with the dawn there came quiet, and then he could speak as he desired, to Him Whom he was to see face to face ere sun-down.

A magistrate with a band of armed citizens led him out of the Castle and down the High Street. The people on the sides of the thoroughfare hailed him with “ God speed you,” instead of the yells which assailed him on leaving the Tolbooth for Edinburgh, December 8, 1614 : his chivalry having won the admiration of almost every one. He was dressed in a ragged overcoat.

The Town Hall, where the trial took place, was within the Tolbooth at the City Cross. The bench was very full, there being on it :

Provost James Hamilton,  
Bailie James Bell,<sup>13</sup>  
,, Colin Campbell,  
,, James Braidwood.

<sup>13</sup> The Bells and Campbells were Provosts, Bailies, and Deans of Guild in Glasgow from 1614 till 1687.

These magistrates were appointed by commission from the Lords of Privy Council. Along with them sat :

Archbishop Spottiswood,  
James Marquis of Hamilton,  
Robert Earl of Lothian,<sup>14</sup>  
William Lord Sanquahar,  
John Lord Fleming,  
Robert Lord Boyd, and  
Sir Walter Stewart, Assessor.

Father Ogilvie, in coming into court, was conducted to the place where criminals sat. He wore his hat ; but was ordered to take it off.

The proceedings began shortly after eleven o'clock forenoon, Tuesday, March 10, 1615. Mr. William Hay of Baro,<sup>15</sup> specially deputed by Sir William Elphingstone of Newton, his Majesty's Attorney-General, rose up and laid before the Bench the indictment against the prisoner. He also produced the citation used in calling the jury, and the roll of their names bearing his own signature, according to the customary form. Thereupon he read the indictment, a long, wordy composition, which we will not inflict upon our patient readers. Then he spoke as follows :

Although the indictment is in itself clear enough, and represents sufficiently to my Lords Justices and

<sup>14</sup> "The Earl of Lowthian, trusting by conference to bring him to a better mind, went unto him at divers times, using many persuasions to draw him from his obstinate course ; but nothing could prevail with him " (*The True Relation of the Proceedings against John Ogilvie, a Jesuit*. Edinburgh : Printed by Andrew Hart, anno 1615).

<sup>15</sup> Supposed to be an estate lying on the east of Glasgow, now called Barrowfield.



your Honourable Lordships here assisting, and even to you yourself, John Ogilvie, standing here, the gravity of the crime you have committed, yet I shall sum it up to you in a very few words, that your answers may be the more distinct and unmistakable.

You are not accused of saying Mass, nor of seducing his Majesty's subjects to a contrary religion, nor of any point touching you in conscience, properly; but for declining his Majesty's authority against the laws and statutes of the land, and for maintaining treasonable opinions, such as we of this realm have not heard by any person avowed. The statutes, mentioned in your indictment, make it treason not to answer the King's Majesty or his Council in any matter which shall be demanded. You, being examined by my Lord Archbishop of Glasgow, and other honourable persons adjoined to him, by his Majesty's special commission, refused to answer unto divers interrogatories proposed to you by their lordships, and at the same time professedly avouched the Pope of Rome's jurisdiction, which, by the laws of the country, is many years since plainly discharged; therefore have you incurred the penalty contained in the statutes, and the famine ought and should be executed upon you.

It is further laid unto your charge, that you being demanded in the particulars, namely, Whether the Pope hath power to dispose the King's Majesty, being deposed by the Pope? Thirdly, whether the Pope hath power to assoilzie his Majesty's subjects from their natural allegiance or not? You denied to give any answer touching any of these points



except you were inquired thereof by the Pope, or others having authority from him, and so not acknowledging that his Majesty's crown and authority is held immediately and sovereignly from God, the Author of all government; that it is detestable once to think that his sacred Majesty may be lawfully killed, and that no man hath power to assoilzie his Majesty's subjects from their natural allegiance to his Highness. You have in these points, and every one of them, committed most heinous treason, for the which what you say in your own defence I see not. And yet, further, that it may be seen how desperate your resolution is in all these points, although you were not required concerning the oaths of supremacy and allegiance given to his Majesty by his subjects, you freely, and out of your own motives, condemned these oaths as impious and unlawful. Thereby hath it appeared what a wicked and treasonable mind you foster against his Majesty our sovereign. If you should deny it, here are your answers, subscribed with your own hand, which you cannot but acknowledge; them I desire to be read, as likewise the several statutes of Parliament which you are alleged to have transgressed; and thereafter, since his Majesty is pleased that the ordinary course of trial be kept unto you, you shall have liberty to say for yourself, either against the relevancy of the indictment or verification produced, what you think best.

“Then were read the statutes of Parliament mentioned in the indictment, and the said John Ogilvie's answers to the demands proposed unto him, which he acknowledged for his own and the

subscription thereto subjoined; after which, having licence of the court to say what he could for himself, he spoke to this effect: 'First, under protestation that I do no way acknowledge this judgment, nor receive you, that have that commission there produced, for my judges, I deny any point laid against me to be treason: for if it were treason, it would be treason in all places and in all kingdoms; but that,' saith he, 'is known not to be so. As for your Acts of Parliament, they are made by a number of partial men, the best of the land not agreeing with them, and of matters not subject to their forum or jurisdiction, for which I will not give a rotten fig!

" 'Where I am thought an enemy to the King's Majesty's authority, I know none other authority he hath, but that which he received from his predecessors, who acknowledged the Pope of Rome's jurisdiction. If the King,' saith he, 'will be to me as his predecessors were to mine, I will obey and acknowledge him for my King; but if he do otherwise and play the runagate from God, as he and you all do, I will not acknowledge him, more than this old hat!' <sup>16</sup>

"Here the Archbishop of Glasgow interrupted his speech, desiring him to deliver his mind in a greater calm, and with more reverent speeches of his Majesty; he remembered him that he was accused upon his life, before judges that were authorized by his Majesty's commission: to decline the judgment, or rail against his Majesty's authority, was bootless, and in a man of his profession,

<sup>16</sup> "Hereupon he twirled his hat in the air" (*The Scottish Journal of Topography*, vol. i. p. 279).

being an ecclesiastic, very scandalous. He should rather take another course to amend what he had offended in, and recall his former answers, if they had not proceeded from a deliberate purpose; and if he were resolute to maintain them, to do it with reason and in a moderate sort: that this were his best, either for justifying himself, and the opinions he held, or for moving the judges, and their lordships that were assisting, to commiserate his case: he advertised him withal to be more temperate in his speeches concerning his Majesty, otherwise he would not be licensed thus to offend.

“To this, Ogilvie made some little answer: ‘That he would take the advertisement and speak more coldly.’ Howbeit, he would never acknowledge the judgment, nor think they had power to sit on his life, but said: ‘And for the reverence I do you, by standing bareheaded before you, I let you know I do so, *ad redemptionem vexationis, et non ad agnitionem judicii.*’

“The advocate here insisted, that seeing all his answers tended to decline the judgment, and that he brought no reason why the indictment should not go to a trial, that the jury should be chosen and sworn at the Bar according to custom:

“*The names of the jury.*

“Sir Geo. Elphingstone of Blythwood,  
Sir Thomas Boyd of Boneshaw,  
Sir J. Edmonstone of Duntraith, elder,  
James Murehead of Lachope,  
James Robertson of Ernock,  
Hew Crawford of Jordane-hill,  
John Carschore of that Ilk,

Hew Kennedy, provost of Ayr,  
William Makarrel of Hill-house,  
James Blair, bailie of Ayr,  
John Dunlop of Powmilne,  
John Stewart, burgess of Ayr,  
John Dumbar, burgess there,  
James Johnston, burgess there,  
John Cunningham of Rawes.

“ It was allowed the prisoner to challenge any of the forenamed persons, and to oppose unto their admission; who said: ‘ He had but one exception for them all: they were either enemies to his cause or friends: if enemies, they could not be admitted upon his trial, and if they were his friends, they should stand prisoners at the Bar with him.’

“ The jury being known to be all discreet and substantial persons, were instantly sworn and admitted.

“ Then was the indictment read again in the hearing of the jury, and the evidences showed them for verification thereof, which before were produced. And the prisoner, being of new remembered to say what he would for himself, for the better information of the jury, spake these things following :

“ ‘ I wish these gentlemen to consider well what they do. I cannot be tried nor judged by them; and whatsoever I suffer here, it is by way of injury, and not of judgment. *Injuria est, non judicium.* I am accused of treason, but I have done no offence, neither will I beg mercy.’

“ ‘ This is strange,’ saith the Archbishop, ‘ you have done no offence, and yet you are come in his Majesty’s kingdom, and have laboured to pervert

his Highness's subjects; both of these are against the law: In this have ye not offended?'

" 'Not,' he answereth; 'I came by commandment, and if I were even now forth of the kingdom, I should return: neither do I repent anything, but that I have not been so busy as I should in that which ye call perverting. *I hope to come to Glasgow again, and to do more good in it. If all the hairs of mine head were priests they should all come into the kingdom.*'

" 'And do you not,' said the Archbishop, 'esteem it a fault to go against the King's commandment, especially on this point of discharging you his kingdom. If a king have any power within his kingdom, it seems he may rid himself and his country of those with whom he is offended: and it savours of great rebellion to say otherwise.'

" 'To this Ogilvie replied: 'I am a subject as free as the King is a King; he cannot discharge me if I be not an offender, which I am not.' And being asked for what offences he might be discharged by the King, answered: 'In the cases of theft and murder.'

" 'All this while,' said the Archbishop, 'you came not to answer anything to the points of your indictment. Why did you decline his Majesty's authority, and refuse to show your opinion anent the Pope's power in deposing Kings and loosing subjects from their oath of allegiance? And when it was asked you if it were lawful to slay the King, being deposed and excommunicated by the Pope, which any loyal-hearted subject will abhor to think of, why did you not simply condemn it as unlawful? For in that you do not condemn it, you show your-



self of the opinion of the rest of your sect, who in their books maintain that it is both lawful and commendable to slay Kings, if the Pope's commission go forth once for it.'

" 'For the declining of the King's authority,' saith he, 'I will do it still in matters of religion, for with such matters he hath nothing to do; neither have I done any other thing but that which the ministers did at Dundee; they would not acknowledge his Majesty's authority in spiritual matters more than I, and the best ministers of the land are still of that mind, and if they be wise, will continue so.'

" The Archbishop replied 'that he was mistaken both in the place and matter; for it was not at Dundee, but Aberdeen, where eight ministers meeting to a general assembly, contended not against the King's authority, but that the assembly called to that place and time, could not be discharged by his Majesty's Commissioner: neither should the fact of a few taken at the worst be esteemed the deed of the whole. These have been punished for their offences, and some of them have confessed their error, and been graciously pardoned by his Majesty. All good ministers profess otherwise, and our religion teacheth us to acknowledge his Majesty, our only supreme judge in all causes. The King is keeper of both Tables, and his place bears him not only to the ruling of his subjects in justice and preserving equity amongst them; but even to maintain religion and God's pure worship, of which he should have principal care. Your lord, the Pope, hath not only denied this authority to kings, which God giveth them, but usurping to

himself a power of deposing and killing when he is displeased; and it were the less to be regarded if this his usurpation had gone no further than your pains: but you have entered by this pretended right the throats of the greatest kings, as you practised upon the last Henries of France bear witness. You are not able to lay such imputation upon us nor our profession, which teaches that next unto God Almighty, all men are bound to fear, serve, and honour their kings. But what answer you touching these demands? Hath the Pope power to depose the King? Or is it not murder to kill him, being deposed by the Pope?’

“‘I refused before,’ said he, ‘to answer such questions, because in answering I should acknowledge you judges in controversies of religion, which I do not. I will not cast holy things to dogs.’”

“‘And is it,’ said the Archbishop, ‘a point of faith that the Pope may depose his Majesty? Or do you think it a controversy in religion, whether his Majesty (whom God save) may be lawfully killed or not?’”

“To this Ogilvie replied: ‘It is a question amongst the Doctors of the Church, and many hold the affirmative, not improbably. A Council hath not yet determined the point; and if it shall be concluded by the Church, that the Pope hath such power, I will give my life in defence of it; and if I had a thousand lives I would bestow them that way if they will make an article of faith of it?’ Being urged to declare his own opinion, especially on that point, whether it were murder to kill his Majesty, being deposed by the Pope, he answered: ‘that he would not say it were unlawful though he

should save his life by it.' Then going on with a long speech on the Pope's power, affirmed the King to be subject to him, by the virtue of Christ saying to Peter: '*Pasce oves meas.*' That if the King offended against the Catholic Church, the Pope might punish him as well as a shepherd or the poorest fellow in the country. That in abrogating the Pope's authority, the estates of parliament had gone beyond their limits, and that the King in usurping the Pope's right had lost his own. '*Nam qui rapit jus alienum,*' said he, '*perdit jus ad suum.*'

"Being asked touching the oath of allegiance, why he did condemn it, and the same being read unto him, said: 'It was a damnable oath, against God and His truth and that it was treason to swear it because it brought the King's person and state in danger; since this kingdom,' said he, 'was Christian the Pope's supreme power was always acknowledged; this being cast off (as we see in the Act of your Parliament), against all reason and conscience, and subjects forced to swear to a matter so unlawful, what marvel that attempts and dangerous courses be taken against him? *Justissima lex est, ut quæ agit aliquis, talia patiatur.* But would the King leave off his usurping upon the Pope he might live without fear, as well as the King of Spain or any other Christian prince.' And with this he intermixed some speeches of his own service and the service of other Jesuits done to his Majesty, whereof he said: 'neither bishop nor minister, nor all the bishops and ministers in his Majesty's kingdoms, had done or could do the like.'

"The further he proceeded in speaking, his

speeches still grew to be the more intolerable; therefore, the Archbishop of Glasgow, willing him to make an end, did close all with some words to the jury to this effect. 'Gentlemen, and others who are named upon this assize, though I minded to have said nothing, but sitting here a witness of the proceeding, I have been forced, by his proud and impudent speeches, somewhat to reply; and must, with your patience, say a little more. It is this same day two-and-twenty weeks past that this prisoner fell into mine hands; since that time he hath leisure to think enough what course was fittest for himself to take for satisfying his Majesty, whom he had offended: neither hath he lacked counsel and advice, the best that we could give him. Besides, he hath found on our part nothing but courteous dealing and better entertainment than (I must now say it) he hath deserved. Mine own hopes were that he would have followed another course than I see he hath taken, and not stand to the answers which he made to those demands, which were moved unto him by his Majesty's Commissioners, as you have seen; but if his answers at the first were treasonable, they are now so little bettered, as in all your hearings he hath uttered speeches most detestable, made a commentary worse than the text was, and showed himself to carry the mind of an arrant and desperate traitor. You perceive he obscures not his affection towards the King's Majesty, our Sovereign, in all his speeches; preferring the Pope to his Majesty, and which is more intolerable, affirmeth the King's Majesty to have lost the right of his kingdom by usurping upon the Pope. He will not say it is unlawful to kill his



Majesty ; he says it is treason for subjects to swear the oath of allegiance, and meaneth so much in his last words as the King's Majesty's life and estate cannot be assured, except he render himself the Pope's vassal.'

" ' Thus hath he left you little to do, except that his Majesty's pleasure is, the ordinary form be kept with him, you should never need once to remove ; all his speeches have been so stuffed with treason that I am sure the patience of the noblemen and others here present hath been much provoked.

" ' In all that he hath said I can mark but two things alleged by him for the Pope's authority over kings, the words of our Saviour to St. Peter, *Pasce oves meas*—" Feed my sheep," and the subjection of kings, especially of our kings, since the kingdom became Christian, to the Pope. For the words of our Saviour, how little they serve his purpose, I have no need to tell you. To feed the sheep of Christ is not, I hope, to depose kings from their estates, nor to inflame the hearts of subjects against princes, much less to kill and despatch them. We are better taught than to be deceived with such glosses. St. Peter made never that sense of those words, and teacheth us a far other doctrine in his first Epistle, fifth chapter, and second and third verse.

" ' I will not spend time with such purpose, only this I must say, that whatsoever was St. Peter's prerogative, the Pope of Rome hath nothing to do with it, for he cannot be St. Peter's successor that hath forsaken his doctrine, and gone against his practice directly, both in that and other points of Christian faith. And for the antiquity of his



usurped power I may justly say that Master Ogilvie is not well seen in antiquity, or then speaketh against his knowledge, when he saith that this power of the Pope was ever acknowledged by Christian kings. The Bishops of Rome for many years made no such claims, neither did emperors or kings ever dream of subjection. Long it was ere the Pope of Rome came to the height of commanding kings, and not till he had oppressed the Church under the pretext of St. Peter's Keys bearing down all the Bishops within Christendom; which having done, then he made his invasion upon princes, and that by degrees. The histories of all ages make this plain, and the resisting he found by kings in their kingdoms testifieth that they never acknowledged his superiority. Of our own, howbeit as we lie far from his seat, so had we less business and fewer occasions of contradiction, yet can I make it seen, in divers particulars, when any question fell out anent the provision of Bishops and Archbishops to their places, the Bulls of Rome were so little respected, as the King's predecessors have always preferred and borne out their own choice, and the interdictions made upon the realm by these occasions, not without some imputation of weakness to the See Apostolic, have been recalled. The superstitions of Rome were amongst us last embraced, and with the first, by the mercies of God, shaken off. Whatsoever you brag of your antiquity, it is false, both in this and all the points of your profession else, which I could clear if this time or place were fitting. But to you of this jury I have this only more to say, you are to inquire upon the verity of indictment, whether such and such things as are

alleged to be committed by him have been so or not. You have his subscription, which he acknowledged; you hear himself, and how he hath most treasonably disavowed his Majesty's authority. It concerns you only to pronounce as you shall find verified by the speeches that you have heard, and the testimonies produced. For the rest, the Justices know sufficiently what to do, and will serve God and his Majesty according to the commission given them.'

"Master William Hay, Advocate for his Majesty, asked instruments upon the prisoner's treasonable speeches uttered in the hearing of the jury, and his ratification of the former answers made to his Majesty's Commissioners. Likewise, for the further clearing of the indictment, repeated the Acts of Parliament mentioned in the said indictment, with the Act of Privy Council made anent his Majesty's supremacy, and the oath of allegiance; and desired the jury deeply to weigh and consider the perverse and devilish disposition of the party accused, to the effect they might without scruple proceed in his conviction. And according to his place protested for wilful error if they should acquit him of any point contained in the said indictment.

"The persons named upon the jury removed to the higher house, which was prepared for them; and having elected Sir George Elphinstone Chancellor, all in one voice found the prisoner GUILTY of the whole treasonable crimes contained in the indictment. Which being reported by the said Sir George Elphinstone, and confirmed by the whole jury, then returned into the Court, judgment was given by direction of the Justices, That the said

John Ogilvie, for the treasons by him committed, should be HANGED and QUARTERED.

"The Archbishop of Glasgow demanded if Ogilvie would say anything else? Ogilvie answered, 'No, my lord; but I give your lordship thanks for your kindness, and will desire your hand.'

"The Archbishop said, 'If you shall acknowledge your fault done to his Majesty, and crave God and his Highness's pardon, I will give you both hand and heart, for I wish you to die a good Christian.'

"Then Ogilvie asked, 'If he should be licensed to speak to the people?'

"The Archbishop answered, 'If you will declare that you suffer according to the law, justly for your offence, and crave his Majesty's pardon for your treasonable speeches, you shall be licensed to say what you please; otherwise you ought not to be permitted.'

"Then said he, 'God have mercy upon me!' And cried aloud, 'If there be here any hidden Catholics, let them pray for me; but the prayers of heretics I will not have.' And so the Court arose."

We have given the trial of Father Ogilvie from the official records almost word for word; though perhaps throwing ourselves open to the accusation of having wearied the reader. But it is satisfactory to have the worst that had been charged against the martyr put unabridgedly and in the very words of his persecutors. We have in such a record the whole unvarnished statement of his offence. If aught else could have been set down against him, would it have been omitted? Even on the show-

ing of the indictment, which formed the ground of the proceedings at his trial, he died a martyr for the Papal Supremacy. Doubtless each form was observed that custom demanded in the course of such a case in those days; and although those forms are not detailed, nor even alluded to in the report, yet we have no reason for stating that they were passed over. On the contrary, they were used if for no other purpose but to give the colour of justice to proceedings which were most unjust. This trial was anything but a righteous one. The foreman of the jury (chancellor he was styled in those days) had been twice, on this very case, commissioned Judge, namely, October 15th, and about the middle of December, 1614! There served also on that jury the descendant of the man who had no second rôle given him in the tragedy of the murder of the (Catholic) Archbishop of St. Andrew's, that man was Hugh Crawford of Jordan Hill. Good notes are not attached to the names of Provost Kennedy and John Stewart, burgess of Ayr.<sup>17</sup> The foreman gave in the verdict in writing to the court; the sentence was written out by the clerk; and the dempster<sup>18</sup> was summoned to read the doom—sentence of death. A wax taper was lighted and quenched, emblematical of the extinction of the prisoner's life on the scaffold.<sup>19</sup>

Father Ogilvie did not leave the Town Hall; he merely turned his face to the wall and knelt and prayed. Only three hours passed between the

<sup>17</sup> Livingstone's *Memorable Characteristics*, 336, 337.

<sup>18</sup> "In one of Sir Walter Scott's novels there is an account of a trial where the Dempster pronounces the sentence. . . . You may safely trust to Sir Walter's accuracy."—Letter from William F. Skene, February 8, 1878.

<sup>19</sup> *Heart of Mid-Lothian*, ch. xxiv. Note T.



reading of his doom and his death. The trial lasted two hours. When the martyr was brought forth from the prison on the road to the scaffold, he was met by the heretical minister and gaol officials. Mr. Browne, and other Catholic gentlemen were also close at hand. The minister addressed the Father, and expressed the extremely kind feeling he had for him. "Oh, how much I grieve for you, my dear Ogilvie," he said, "who are knowingly and wilfully casting yourself into the jaws of an infamous death." Then the Father, feigning fear, said, "Just as if my life hung on my own free will. I am accounted guilty of high treason, and for that I am condemned." "Have done," said the minister, "with that crime of yours. Give up the Pope and Papistry, and you shall be forgiven that crime, and I will reward you with gifts." "You mock me," said the Father. "I speak seriously and with certain authority," subjoined the minister. "My Lord Archbishop gave commission to me to promise you his daughter in marriage, and the richest prebend of the diocese as her dowry, provided I found you willing to step over from your religion to ours." Whilst these things were being said they reached the scaffold. The minister urged the Father to be willing to live. The Father replied that he was willing, but not with disgrace. "I have said, and repeat," urged the minister, "that you may live with honour." "Would you be willing to say that, so that the people could hear?" "By all means," he replied. "Listen all present," cried Father Ogilvie, "to what the minister is going to say to us." Then the minister gave out: "I



promise to Mr. Ogilvie life, the Lord Archbishop's daughter, and a very rich prebend, provided he be willing to come over to our side." "Do you hear this?" said the Father; "and will you confirm it as witnesses when it shall be needed?" "We have heard," cried the people, "and we will confirm it. Go down, Mr. Ogilvie, go down!" Upon this the Catholics began to tremble, and the heretics to triumph. "There is no fear then that I shall be held hereafter as guilty of high treason?" "By no means!" all the people from the street cried out together. "I stand here, therefore, a criminal on the head of religion alone?" "Of that alone!" they cry out. "Very well!" triumphantly exclaimed the Father. "That is plenty. On the head of religion alone I am condemned, and for that I would willingly and joyfully pour forth even a hundred lives. Snatch away that one which I have from me, and make no delay about it, but my religion you will never snatch away from me!" At this the Catholics raised their heads in triumph, whilst the heretics who had been thus taken in were in a fury, and above all the minister, who harshly received the Father as he was preparing to say more, and commanded him to be led away to the scaffold as quickly as possible.<sup>20</sup>

The Sheriff, the Archbishop's officers, and two of the city ministers, Struthers and Scott, not forgetting Father Abercrombie, accompanied the martyr from the Town Hall to the scaffold.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Attestation of Father James Browne, S.J. Signed at Douay, Feb. 23, 1672 (Original MSS. at Preshome).

<sup>21</sup> We have made inquiries through Dr. Arthur Mitchell, a well-known antiquarian, and the letters he received to his questions concerning the structure of the scaffold in 1615

The hangman, on being introduced, made an apology; but Father Ogilvie told him not to mind making excuses, and received the fellow cordially. Along the corridors of the Tolbooth and into the open air, even in the very thick of the crowd gathered to witness the execution, one of the ministers ceased not to tempt the Father to forgo his crown by accepting the bribes he had been empowered to offer. Even at the foot of the ladder leading up to the scaffold, his life was promised him in exchange for his faith. Nor gold, nor bribe, nor life itself, all which were within his reach, made him for a moment stay his step on the road to death. His strength was broken down—how else could it have been? and so feeble was he that he crawled up the ladder. On getting upon the platform he kissed the gibbet. Father Abercrombie stood near him. A minister was also there. The minister cried out, “Ogilvie is to die for treason!” The martyr, hearing this, shook his head, showing the minister lied. He would have spoken, but was not allowed. “Don’t mind their lies, John; the more wrongs the better,” said Father Abercrombie. Someone shouted, “Off with that other traitor!” No sooner said than done: an

in Scotland, from Messrs. W. F. Skene, Æneas Mackay, and Joseph Anderson of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, do not afford precise information. It is our opinion there were two ladders, one springing from the street to the platform, and another from the platform, leaning against the gibbet. On the latter the martyr stood, having the rope about his neck, and when ready the executioner withdrew the ladder. Sir Walter Scott quotes a rhyme of the Edinburgh street-boys which somewhat illustrates this description—

Up the lang ladder,  
And dwn the little tow.

officer cast Father Abercrombie headforemost into the crowd. "Are you not," said the minister, "afraid to die?" "I fear death," answered Father Ogilvie, "as much as you do your dinner."

It was, very probably, just before his hands were bound that he flung his Rosary beads (his farewell gift to the Catholics present) into the crowd about the scaffold—an incident forming an episode in this history.

His Rosary struck the breast of a young nobleman who was on his travels in these kingdoms. He was a foreigner and a heretic—his name, Baron John ab Eckersdorff. "I was on my travels through England and Scotland—as it is the custom of our nobility—being a mere stripling, and not having the faith. I happened to be in Glasgow the day Father Ogilvie was led forth to the gallows, and it is impossible for me to describe his lofty bearing in meeting death. His farewell to the Catholics was his casting into their midst, from the scaffold, his rosary beads just before he met his fate. That rosary, thrown haphazard, struck me on the breast in such wise that I could have caught it in the palm of my hand; but there was such a rush and crush of the Catholics to get hold of it, that unless I wished to run the risk of being trodden down, I had to cast it from me. Religion was the last thing I was then thinking about: it was not in my mind at all; yet from that moment I had no rest. Those rosary beads had left a wound in my soul; go where I would I had no peace of mind. Conscience was disturbed, and the thought would haunt me: why did the martyr's rosary strike me, and not another? For years I asked myself this

question—it followed me about everywhere. At last conscience won the day. I became a Catholic; I abandoned Calvinism; and this happy change I attribute to the martyr's beads, and to no other cause—those beads which, if I had them now, gold could not tempt me to part with; and if gold could purchase them, I should not spare it.”<sup>22</sup>

The martyr prayed in these words :

Maria, Mater gratiæ, ora pro me !

Omnes Angeli, orate pro me !

Omnes Sancti, Sanctæque, orate pro me !

He was turned off the ladder, his left foot resting slightly on one of the bars for an instant, and hung till dead. Father Abercrombie, standing in the crowd, gave him absolution. This, it would seem, had been arranged between them. “There was a man (Father Abercrombie) seen to attend him carefully, and was ever heard asking Ogilvie some token before his death; for which and other business he made with him, he was put off the scaffold.”<sup>23</sup> The execution took place at the Cross,<sup>24</sup> Tuesday, at four o'clock, afternoon, March 10, 1615. The rope was cut and the body fell with a thud on the planks beneath. The hangman and some officials, all heretics, put the body into the coffin. It was borne up the High Street and lowered into the grave made for it in the ground where malefactors were buried.”

<sup>22</sup> See Attestation of Father Boleslaus Balbinus, S.J., *Preshome MSS.*

<sup>23</sup> Pitcairn, vol. iii. (Father Ogilvie's execution).

<sup>24</sup> “xxiix. Febii. Glascuæ beati Joannis Ogilbii Societatis Jesu presbyteri, qui celebrato sacro captus multarum noctium dierumque in somnio tortus, in foro publice vitam laqueo finivit, aut verius mutavit: extant Romæ acta a seipso in custodia conscripta” (*Menelogium Scotorum*. Thos. Dempstereus. Bononiæ. M.DC.XXII.).

The malefactors' ground lies on the north side of the Cathedral, about twenty yards from the western door. The pilgrim can easily find it out. It is a square patch close by the Cathedral wall, and bounded on the north by the footpath running down the centre of that portion of the "High Kirk Yard."<sup>25</sup> It is a grass-grown spot, no stones marking the graves of those who sleep the sleep of Death with him who sealed in blood his faith in the Supremacy of the Fisherman.

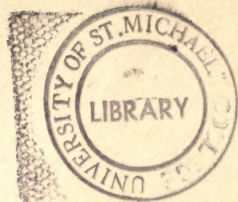
<sup>25</sup> St. Ninian, the Apostle of Galloway, consecrated the cemetery which lies around the Cathedral of Glasgow.

L.D.S.









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The venerable John  
Ogilvie, S. J.

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